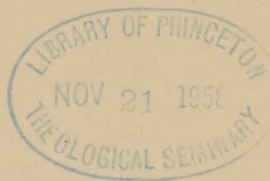


FAITHS MEN LIVE BY



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PREFACE

Faiths Men Live By has been continuously in print since its original publication in 1934. The continuing demand for the book by both students and general readers has justified a second edition.

Dr. Archer's "contemporary" approach has necessitated the rewriting of many portions of the book, simply to bring the discussion abreast of economic, social, political, and religious changes that have taken place in a quarter-century. Revision of this sort has been done in every chapter. In addition, sizable blocks of material have been added at certain key points—new material on Mosaic faith and on the Hebrew prophets in Chapter 14, the expanded discussion of the message of Jesus in Chapter 15, and the material on today's Islam in Chapter 16.

New, up-to-date lists of supplementary readings have been provided at the end of each chapter. The questions for study and discussion have been rewritten, and an ample index is included.

One reason for the evident value of the book as it first appeared is its authenticity. Many of the materials were gathered by John Clark Archer in the Asiatic lands in which he had lived and studied. Another reason is the thoroughness of the treatment of each faith. Each religion is viewed both in its cultural setting and in itself, with due regard for interaction with other faiths. The book has depth, in contrast with the superficiality of many general treatments of this complex subject matter. In the preparation of this new edition, the validity of the original work has been constantly a goal and an inspiration.

In the present edition thanks are due to Professor Kwang Won Kim, of Boston University, for reading the chapters on China and Japan and to Professor T. Scott Miyakawa,

also of Boston University, for reading and commenting upon the chapters dealing with Japan. Thanks are also due to Professor Norvin Hein, Professor Archer's successor at Yale, for reading the complete manuscript and offering a number of helpful suggestions. Responsibility for errors of fact or interpretation is, of course, my own.

The biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyrighted 1946 and 1952 by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and used by permission.

It is hoped that the new edition of *Faiths Men Live By* may continue to aid those who seek to understand religion—and religions—better.

CARL E. PURINTON

Boston, Massachusetts
February, 1958

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FAITHS MEN
LIVE BY

Chapter 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE LIVING FAITHS

Eleven great faiths are living still: Taoism (pronounced as dowism), Confucianism, Shinto, Hinduism (including Brahmanism), Jainism, Buddhism, Parsiism (or Zoroastrianism), Sikhism, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. They claim the total population of the globe, about two and a half billion souls, but we may properly suppose that the sum of the really "faithful" falls far short of such a figure. However, if their number is one-half or two-thirds the total population, we still find substantial evidence that religion is a vital factor in the human world. Even if men today are questioning religion or are in revolt against it, their attitude enlists our interest and provides good ground of inquiry as to what religion is and what may be its value to society. We may be able, as we pass from faith to faith, to separate what is essential from the forms which have been more conspicuous, and to discover why religion has been throughout history coterminous with human life. Religion is historical, and certain forms may be inseparable from faith. But forms are variable. History indicates that the eleven faiths alive today will change and that some of them may even disappear. But man's record indicates that religion in some form must continue as an agency of human progress.

According to recent estimates ¹ of their respective numbers, the religions may be classed as in the list which follows. The numbers given are round numbers, and each total might be cut by nearly half if one counted the "faithful" only. Moreover, the title now and then is doubtful. For example, Confucianism and Shinto are names to cover indefinite conditions. In connection with the former, a

Chinese may be of several faiths at once (Confucianist, Taoist, and Buddhist and today, perhaps, Leninist-Marxist). And although a Japanese may be a Buddhist, there was at least until 1945 a form of Shinto to which he had to be loyal also. The term Hindu covers culturally much more than mere religion.

1. Christianity	approximately	800,000,000
2. Islam	over	400,000,000
3. Buddhism	approximately	350,000,000
4. Hinduism	approximately	300,000,000
5. Confucianism	over	300,000,000
6. Taoism	approximately	50,000,000
7. Shinto	approximately	30,000,000
8. Judaism	approximately	11,500,000
9. Sikhism	approximately	5,500,000
10. Jainism	approximately	1,500,000
11. Parsiism	approximately	140,000

In age the faiths may rank as follows: Judaism, Hinduism, Parsiism, Taoism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, Shinto, Islam, and Sikhism. The order is meaningless in a measure. Primitivism lies back of all forms and lives on in many of them. Back of Taoism and Confucianism lies early Sinism, or the way of ancient China. Behind both Hinduism and Zoroastrianism lies a common heritage of early Indo-European culture. Nor was the Jewish faith original. It rests upon a common ground with several faiths now gone. Shinto had a prehistoric origin, but as an organized religion it is comparatively late. Christianity and Islam had a common Jewish heritage, and both became heirs of other sources of religion. It is easier to determine order if we think in terms of "founders." Then we have this list: the Hebrew Moses, the Iranian Zoroaster, the Taoist Lao-tze, the Jainist Mahavira, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, Muhammad, and the Sikh Nanak. Hinduism, Sinism, and Shinto had no early "founders." Such a figure as the Hindu Krishna appeared in the very midst of Hinduism. These three religions must be viewed at once as movements rather than as bequests of rites and dogmas from well-known individuals. Still, Judaism with its Moses and Hinduism with its Krishna must be deemed the very oldest of the living faiths.

The distribution of the religions is interesting and at once suggestive, suggestive of even more than merely aspects of the interplay of cultures. Four, Jewish, Buddhist, Christian, and Islamic, might be called international. Jews and Christians are almost everywhere. Buddhism is more restricted but touches India, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Thailand, and all the regions eastward. Islam stretches in an irregular belt from Morocco eastward to the Philippines. Others are somewhat more than national, for example, Chinese Confucianism in Japan and Persian Zoroastrianism in India. Others still are possibly somewhat less than national. At least, Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism are virtually confined to India, except for adherents temporarily abroad as merchants, soldiers, students, and officials. Taoism is practically limited to China, although there are Taoists in Japan. Shinto is peculiarly the spirit of Japan, but in so far as it has expressed itself in sects, it claims a mere minority of the total population.

Perhaps some faiths are by nature international, while others are by nature national. Hinduism once seemed destined to be international. It had an era of expansion into mainlands and islands lying east of India, but soon Buddhism, and, later on, Islam, checked and defeated it. However, such a congeries of faiths as one finds in Hinduism contains ideas of universal value. The world has long been debtor to the Hindu in the realm of thought. One might judge that India, so self-contained, is really international.

Such observations as we have made regarding numbers, age, and the distribution of the several faiths furnish us at once good ground for many questions, such as those in the following list.

1. Why have some religions "died"? In what manner did they die? To what degree?
2. To what degree may the survival of a faith be an indication of essential quality? What quality?
3. Have "dead" religions any longer any following? If so, why? What of their sacred scriptures as a means to their survival?
4. When faiths have lived long and spread with vigor, what

factors beyond their own essential qualities have aided them, and how?

5. Are some living faiths by their essence universal? Are others more provincial, even national?
6. Does nature ever set the bounds of a religion? (Has Islam been limited by geographical and economic factors?)
7. Is there any fundamental relation between the spiritual and moral qualities of a religion and its physical environment?
8. Is there any causal connection between the numbers of adherents of a faith and its qualities as a religion?
9. What motives have impelled large groups of men to change their faith? (To what extent has the motive been religious hunger?)
10. Why have certain faiths (the Buddhist and the Christian) met with more success in other lands than those in which they first arose?
11. What of the future of these many faiths? Should any one expect to be eventually victorious over all others? Do the living eleven have any things in common?

It is not possible to meet these questions adequately at this stage of our study. The answers lie, in fact, beyond the scope of the inquiry we may rightly make directly in our course. The questions would inevitably lead us into the fields of history, psychology, philosophy, economics, geography, and sociology. Nevertheless, we may gradually find pertinent answers as we travel the highways of our study. In any case, the questions may serve to open our minds and to free them of any false, embarrassing assumptions we may hold with reference to any faith or all of them. We may indeed gain certain subjective values in the end, but at the outset we must undertake our study with an experimental and objective mind.

CHANGE AND ESSENCE IN RELIGIONS. Let us return then to the theme we interrupted. We said that not one of the eleven religions is a unit. Keep this fact in mind. It will tend to qualify our final judgment of each of the religions. We may not pass on any one a final, comprehensive judgment. Nearly every faith knew at its beginning the influ-

ence of at least one other faith. Each has divided with the years. Granted that there was a time when its adherents were unanimous, this single-mindedness was transient. With several religions the cleavage grew so deep that history alone preserves the memory of their unity. Perhaps a faith is really known today by one of its divisions. Yet even when we find a conspicuous and powerful division—perhaps, with but a single party name—as among the Buddhists (for example, Mahayanists), the Muslims (e.g., Sunnites), and the Christians (e.g., Roman Catholics), we may yet detect within it evidences of many minds. The largest single Christian group, the Roman Catholic, in itself the largest distinguishable religious body in the world, is by no means one in matters of belief, whatever be its uniformity of ritual and its ecclesiastical compactness. The Parsis, although they constitute the smallest communion, are divided both in religious thought and ritual behavior. If uniformity be looked for in the world of religion, the nearest approach both in the state of mind and the method of behavior may be found among the primitives. In contrast with their low estate of uniformity, we may see among the sects of higher culture some value in division. Divisions may be evidence of life and vigor and the will to grow, while uniformity inevitably shows inertia and decay.

And yet no faith is ever altogether static. Among the lowest orders, where custom seems to set insuperable barriers and to fix unbending standards, changes in religion have occurred. On every plane of human culture changes both of creed and ritual are frequently taking place, although it may be that creed is readier to change than ritual. Professor Radhakrishnan says of his own faith: "There has been no such thing as uniform, stationary, unalterable Hinduism whether in point of belief or practice."²

We might apply this view to all faiths. Often while a faith was unaware of it, change was in the making, to be verified later on by history. Take an illustration, that of caste peculiar to the Hindu. Certain features must have crept in unawares in the course of the development of the caste

system. Today in India there is a trend toward the weakening of the structure of caste, due in part to inward reform, such as the example and influence of Gandhi and his followers, but even more to conditions of the modern industrial age. If one is to travel on modern railroad coaches, for example, it is impossible to maintain physical segregation. Or take the God-idea. No human concept has been changed more often than man's God-idea, especially on the higher levels. The great religions, after all, are movements, not positions, processes, not results, growing revelations and not fixed traditions. Religion is a journey rather than a destination.

Nevertheless, in spite of frequent change, one may find in almost every faith a main idea, a dominant tradition, or a ruling tendency. An essence seems at last, whatever strength it might have had to start with, to have been distilled within and by each faith. This gives it its distinctive character and defines it not only in relation to another faith but to the whole of life. We may thus justly call one system Buddhist, another Muslim, another Christian. For even if psychological experiences have much in common, such other elements as these determine a distinctive essence: (1) historical events, (2) conspicuous and influential personalities, (3) the major customs of peculiar peoples, and (4) the local qualities of lands and climates. Nature speaks to men a various language, whether of land or sea, or torrid or temperate zone, of ominous, dense jungle or smiling plains, of the hard, open desert or forbidding mountain ranges. Once the essence is established, all changes while the faith endures are so controlled that we might say the faith runs "true to form."

But we should bear in mind a further high consideration, lest we miss the woods by looking at the trees. There may be something which at least is larger than the eleven faiths all together, greater in degree if not in quality. We might affirm that anything in its totality is larger than the sum of all its parts. Certainly this theory accords with what we know of this expanding universe. And it was held by some

before we knew the universe was growing. At any rate, there is for us something larger than the sum of eleven religions. We mean Religion. If this be so, no one faith quite fully represents as such the whole field of religion. One may therefore be religious with a double meaning. He may hold to one religion and be numbered with the faithful and yet may look beyond with open-mindedness for growing revelation.

DEFINITIONS. Religion as such is abstract, intangible, strictly indefinable, and yet existent. One might liken it to time and say, "Everyone knows time, feels conscious of it, recognizes that man exists in time," and further add, "yet who can define time properly, or say that it ever began or never began?" We must, however, get a working definition of religion and a norm of judgment. What is this "whole," some parts of which we know or are to know? What is the full orb whose "broken lights" we see?

We may appeal first to several Western students who from their several points of view are qualified to tell us what religion means. This word itself is Latin, *religio*. It may be traced, however, from two important sources in the language: (1) Cicero drew it from *relegere*, which means to "gather up, consider," that is, the assembling and consideration of what concerned the worship of the gods, or more simply, reverence and respect toward the gods. (2) Certain early Christian writers, following the Roman Lactantius, derived it from *religare*, meaning "to bind to or back, to restrain," that is, restraint under divine power or for fear of God.

Cicero was a Roman under the influence of Greek philosophy, a popularizer of Greek ideas, much inclined toward eclecticism. He was incurably optimistic in politics and tolerant in temper toward religion. Those early Christian writers, on the other hand, were advocates of one peculiar faith, holding the present world, its politics, and all its other faiths in deep contempt. They counseled men to fear the one true God, keep his commandments, and be forever saved.³ There were other views than these, but for the

most part religion in the Roman world was early associated with ideas and practices of *reverence*, on the one hand, and with elements of *fear*, on the other. But religion is vastly more than reverence, or fear. There are elements of awe and a feeling of dependence, a sense of moral good, a touch of reason, and a sense of mystery. Above all else is the awareness of the presence and superior power of some mysterious and infinite Being who orders the universe of men and things. But any definition which seeks to take into account all phases and functions of religion must seem too theoretical and to fall short of the final whole. Each student passes judgment in the light of all the facts he can command. Every definition represents the student's own experience and his own impression; it indicates his point of view, whether as philosopher, psychologist, anthropologist, or other.

Some students of our time connect religion with man's quest of surety in a world of flux, his eagerness for certainty amid change. Says one such: "Religion is society's adjustment to that which is, in any age, beyond knowledge—to the aleatory [i.e., "chance"] element, as personalized, through the long ages of human evolution, in the spirit-environment."⁴ That is, there are personified spirits to whom the menace of chance may be referred, and spirits from whom surety may be found from mischance. Somewhat in contrast at the basic point, Levy-Bruhl declares that primitives never think of such a thing as chance. But even if we build our definition upon chance, we might deny that men when they have won a sense of surety have forfeited religion. At least one master of religion has declared that faith is the "assurance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."⁵ The assurance of a man of faith is one of the most striking features of religion. The above definition indicates the important presence of something personal in the spirit-environment—a more significant observation than the reference to "chance."

Some definitions of religion call attention to the individual or personal character of religion in contrast with the

social ("society's adjustment," in the phrase of Keller above). Too often these definitions emphasize one aspect of personality and thus, although true, are but partial definitions. Thus Tylor, the English anthropologist, defined religion in terms of thinking: "Religion is the *belief* in spiritual beings." The German Protestant theologian Schleiermacher found the essence of religion in "the *feeling* of absolute dependence" of man on the Divine. Often religion has been described in terms of *willing* or *doing*, of ethical action, as in the New Testament *Letter of James*: "Religion that is pure and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit orphans and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unstained from the world."⁶ The philosopher Immanuel Kant offered a definition with similar stress upon the volitional side of religion: "Religion is the recognition of all duties as divine commands." The advantage of the psychological type of definition, now much in vogue, is that it relates the total personality to the object of loyalty. Thus William James used the word religion to cover "the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine." So, too, according to Searles, "Religion is the total response of the individual to that which he holds to be of supreme worth, and leads to harmonious adjustment to his total environment." A still more satisfactory type of definition, however, would be one in which both the individual and the social aspects of religion find a place. A recent definition which attempts this balanced approach is offered by Erich Fromm, who defines religion as "any system of thought and action shared by a group which gives the individual a frame of orientation and an object of devotion."⁷

ORIENTAL DEFINITIONS. Even more germane to our investigation is an acquaintance with Eastern sources which give us something of a meaning for "religion." We should not expect to find exact equivalents for our word "religion." And within the words we do find differences of meaning, for the Eastern scriptures were often centuries in composition,

and words may change their meaning from one age to another.

Among the Chinese ideographs for what we call religion are such terms as *chiao*, *tao*, and *hsiao*. *Chiao* is "teaching, or doctrine," used mainly in the concrete. It is applied to a teacher of religion, the doctrine he teaches, a school-master, a lesson, a church, a disciple, a Roman Catholic, a Buddhist. *Tao* means "nature, way, or reason." It is often more abstract than *chiao*, although it, also, may be used (in combination) concretely for such objects as a road, a gentleman, a Taoist priest, and a college of theology. *Hsiao* (pronounced *shiao*) means "dutiful, obedience, or filial devotion." It, more than the other two, has something of the very meaning of our word religion. At least, it has meant at times to Chinese what our own word means to us. But we may look in vain for Chinese terms for or Chinese definitions of religion, save what may be implied in *chiao* and *tao* and *hsiao*. They indicate a tendency to think of filial devotion to a set of teachings in accord with nature or with reason. The Taoist Lao-tze thought about "the way [*tao*] of nature, and of man's practice of this way." The sage Confucius was overcautious in matters spiritual. He went no further than to urge "*respect* for spirits" (departed human spirits and various nature powers) and the worship of them. He urged this as a part of wisdom (*chih*).

Among the Hindus of India the word in most common use is *dharma*, which in itself has many meanings, such as "religion, doctrine, ordinances, piety, duty, righteousness, law, quality, nature, and idea." It runs this way, with variations, through the whole range of India's sacred writings, and when associated with the God-idea or the divine, it has the meaning of "religion." The importance of the word is great, for the orthodox Hindu has given extraordinary place to the divine. To the Hindu who is a pantheist, *dharma* has meant to him the realization of the essential oneness of the divine soul within him and the divine universe about him. To the theist, *dharma* has meant loving devotion due from him to a personal god. If he has been,

with the masses generally, a polytheist, *dharma* has meant his doing of the divinely ordained works of the various gods to save men's souls. Buddha also used the term, but gave it his own meaning. Giving scant place to the divine, he taught the need of "goodness," of "fellowship with what is lovely", and "of walking uprightly in accordance with the Law." In contrast, his later followers became far more "religious." They had regard for things divine. While the Indian Muslim also employs the Hindu *dharma*, he has words for "religion" peculiarly his own. His *madhhab* means "religious opinion or creed," and his *iman*, "faith or devotion." But his strictly religious vocabulary is naturally Arabic.

When the Muslims mean religion they usually say *din* (pronounced as *deen*), unless they say *Islam*. *Din* chiefly means "observance," that is, observance of the divine injunctions, or obedience to Allah. It occurs with great frequency in the Qur'ân, where the reference is always to Islam. Islam itself primarily is submission to Allah. Both Arab and Persian Muslims think of religion as "observance."

The Jewish Scriptures contain at least two special terms, *yirath*, "fear, or fear of God," and *daath*, "knowledge, or consciousness" (of God). There is a larger, if implicit, definition of religion in the famous declaration of the Jewish prophet Micah: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"⁸ And the prophet Jeremiah indicated that God's law is written not in books but on the hearts of men.⁹ To him religion was not outer form but inner character.

Neither the ancient Greek nor the Roman had a comprehensive term for religion. One had *hieros* to apply to what was holy, and the other had *sacer* to apply to what he deemed sacred. Both terms and their cognates (e.g., the *hiereus* or *sacerdos*, the "priest") reflected much of an original content of what we may call *mana* or *orenda*, "supernatural potency."

Christians, while believing in divinity, did not at first attempt a thoroughgoing definition of religion. Although in

their Scriptures (specifically the Greek New Testament) religion is the major theme, it is seldom defined explicitly. No writer seems to have found religion simple enough to be reduced to definition. The word *threskeia*, for example, is used five times only, and its adjective *threskos*, only twice. It means "the fear of God and the worship of God" and is applied to man's bridling of his unruly tongue, his care of the fatherless and the widowed in their distresses, and his aloofness from "the world."¹⁰

When sacred books themselves discuss religion, they usually do so in terms of a particular religion. Religion as such is seldom alluded to. The attitude of any sacred writer is frequently that the religion of which he treats is itself religion, either actually at the time or in process of becoming the full and final manifestation. Other religions to him are simply imperfect, incomplete, or altogether false. Zoroaster admitted that religions other than his own might have good qualities, including righteous men, but that his own was superior. Buddha recognized other faiths but preached his own as the final Way. Moses recognized other gods but enjoined Israel to have no god but Yahweh. Muhammad tolerated certain other faiths but held Islam to be their consummation. He said: "If they [the followers of these other faiths] believe as you [Muslims] believe then have they the *true* guidance."

Religion, then, in general has been measured by religion in particular. Thereby one has meant the Jewish, Christian, Muslim, or some other faith. If, however, we return to our theory that religion as a whole is something greater than religions all together, we might formulate a working definition as follows: *Religion is man's whole and developing reaction within and upon life, "the expression of his summed-up meaning and the purport of his whole consciousness of things," such reaction, meaning, and consciousness implying the recognition of things spiritual and superhuman.* This may serve us for a time, until we gather further outward facts, discover further inner secrets of human emotions, and further learn about the operations of men's minds.

Meanwhile, we may assume that religion is for man the most comprehensive of all terms, that religion is a *fact* of life, whether of inner experience or outer observance.

More immediately we seek to know religions. And in viewing each of the eleven we shall approach it through what it seems to be today. Its history to which we ultimately appeal becomes an explanation of its enduring character. Among the things we seek to know are these: (1) its forms; (2) its leaders—and, perhaps, its founders; (3) the causes it has advocated; (4) its effects upon man's life and mind; (5) its attitude toward other faiths; and (6) to what extent it is religion. Like a tree, a religion may be known by its fruits.

RITUAL AND WORSHIP. Worship inevitably tells us much at the outset. This active side of faith is more effective, picturesque, and demonstrable than the side of sheer belief and may tell us more than creed can. Some faiths may be more tolerant in worship than in creed, or quite the contrary, as in Islam or any "close communionists." The prayers of some religions are directed to an exclusive, jealous, perhaps a national God. The gifts of money which the faithful bring may be devoted to exclusive propaganda or in certain instances may be freely used for any worthy cause or enterprise. At any rate, worship, or to be more specific, ritual, is a more constant element than creed. It is the continuing bond which holds the faithful together from one generation to another. Rites may arise in connection with belief, but they often continue long after their original meaning has been lost or modified. Old formulas of prayer and sacrifice may continue in the ritual when new gods have taken the places of the old. Although the Buddha served no god at all, the ancient Hindu Indra was carried on to China by the Buddhist ritual. It is probable that ritual, more than creed, allows the interchange of ideas among strange cults. Faiths have sometimes spread by ritual rather than belief. Ritual emerged before men phrased belief, and changes in the ritual have sometimes brought about a change of creed. Ritual is the fruit of

man's emotion, and rites stir men's souls far more than creed. On every plane mankind has found in ceremony the more agreeable expression of faith and the more effective means of harmony with its environment. When faiths have met for common worship their differences of creed have been obscured.

Where there are priests—and every faith has priests, except Confucianism, Sikhism, and Islam—they are the leaders of the worship. They are the “elders” of the people.¹¹ As is the priest so is the faith itself, for better or for worse. With the priest sprang up a lore of worship and a calendar of festivals, the priest being the editor of one and the expert in guidance of the other. Men have looked to him to do what they had neither time nor skill to do, and for learning which he alone had opportunity for getting. He was vested with authority, demanding and providing precision in religious exercises. Under his hand the faith was organized and men were subjected to its authority—to *his* authority, in fact. For ages the priest administered the law which regulated human life. He has ordained the chieftain and the king, and he has deposed them in the name of the divine. He has been the officer of sacrifice and the custodian of holy places. These are universal elements in religion. He has led men in their prayers and in times of war and peace has been the chief interpreter of the will of God.

Every faith has its prophets, though not in such close succession as the priests. Priests are constant; prophets are occasional. The history of religion shows the tendency of priests to be conservative, the tendency of sacerdotalism to prevail. On the other hand, the prophet arises in conflict with the priest and “utters forth” fresh words of God with newer emphases in faith. He also is an interpreter of God's will, although unlike the priest, he may be self-appointed. In theory he has heard the “call” of God or seen a “vision” of a transformed order. Perhaps he is a priest turned prophet, for priests may be prophetic, as prophets may be ultimately priestly. A certain priest of ancient India grew prophetic when in connection with the ritual sacrifice

he declared that worship might be properly performed without the slaughter of an actual horse and that instead men might meditate upon the horse's image: the sky its body, the sun its eye, the streaming cloud its mane; and that he might do this in any place in which his mind was free and fit for meditation. He meant, of course, by implication that *some* men might worship truly thus. A modern Indian prophet has voiced the same prophetic mood: "Utter Kali's [that is, the Goddess's] name, and sit in meditation. . . . What is thy gain from images of metal, stone, or earth?" The Hebrew prophets said that God was not most pleased with mere grain offerings nor pleased with animals slain in sacrifice. Jesus said: "Go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you." But the priestly office has never fully lapsed, nor has the priestly ministry ever grown dispensable.

Religion stands in frequent need of prophets to challenge its ceremonial, to scrutinize its creed, and to remind men that God at times must speak to men directly, incidentally, to free the priest oftentimes from the very system for whose welfare he has been responsible. The prophet's weakness is isolation. He stands apart from the current tradition, although his lips may have been touched by coals from the altar of the established order. He stands conspicuously alone, whether as judge or inspiration. He has his day and passes on. Then the priest takes upon himself the constant burdens of the faith. The "elders" furnish continuity and bear their testimony that religion cannot live by "vision" only. What the prophet sees must take on body and become an institution before becoming true reform. So the house of prayer is renovated, not destroyed, and the high places of pure worship reconstructed and newly dedicated. Forms and ceremonies then revised become the marks and agencies of man's inner spirit of devotion. Both the prophet and the priest are men of God. True religion is a spirit. It is also an order. Religion must be orderly to be effective at whatever level.

A religion has its symbols also, which may catch the ranging eye and call for comprehension. They are more than signs. They signify the faith to those who hold them dear. What the symbols stand for has been long accumulating. They represent a multitude of scenes and varied feelings and ideas, whether primitive or advanced, gross or refined, formal or vital, genuine or perverted, individual or social. They are the fruitage of the varied fortunes of the faithful and the signs of their devotion. Each faith has its own peculiar shrines whose familiar symbols satisfy its worshipers. But symbols represent to some degree division, misunderstanding, and antipathy. Often, faiths with much in common in creed hold aloof in their worship—Jewish, Christian, and Islamic, for example. When one faith has imposed its symbols on another, it has assumed the other faith's conversion. For its own integrity a faith has usually declined to tolerate the symbols of another. Each body of believers has been reared according to its own peculiar symbolism, and has often made no effort to understand another. The cross, the crescent, the swastika, the mirror, the trident, and the tilak are examples of this divisive symbolism. The Christian cross was to the Jew a "stumbling block" and to the Greek pagan "foolishness," observed St. Paul. A Hindu idol is an outrage to the Muslim. To the Protestant the Catholic mass is "mummery," and the Catholic finds no satisfaction in the "services" of the Protestant.

Obviously the student of a religion must seek to understand its symbols. To that end he must view them all with sympathy, first of all. There is no warrant for division between religion and religion on the basis of mere symbol. An interchange of symbols—at least the use of one another's symbols—may be a way of common understanding among religions. Each people might to some extent determine for itself the meaning of another people's symbols. The words themselves which peoples use in worship or in statements of their creed are really symbols, for example, T'ien, Krishna, Brahma, Ahura Mazda, and Allah. "God"

itself is a name derived from roots which mean "to worship," to "pour a libation," or "the worshipful." While each of these words for God may represent to men a cherished heritage, no word is fully comprehensive of Reality. Even Nanak's "True Name" (*Satnam*) falls short of truth. Any name may represent a growing body of belief and a ripening experience, whether of religion or of God. The *tao*, said Lao-tze, which can be named is not the Tao.

As we view men worshiping, as we visit their sanctuaries, observe their ritual acts, read their books, interview their ministers, and ask the causes which they advocate, we put ourselves in the way of understanding what their faith is. It is, first of all, a formidable exterior we must penetrate, whether of books and buildings or prophets, priests, and ritual. We must get behind the realistic to the real, discriminate between the signs and what they signify, and let the mind identify at last what the eye sees superficially.

A RELIGION IS A QUEST. A religion has been called a journey. It is a quest. It is a twofold quest: (1) it seeks for God and Truth; (2) it seeks adjustment to environment, including God. Men would "organize experience into some form or other of coherent totality." Religions through long periods have at least grown by integrations, whether of instinct, custom, reason, or moral insight. In the highest stages of man's quest nature is one, reason is one, the human mind is one, God is one, and man is one with God. Various religions have all looked for human good. Usually this human good has been referred to God. By whatever name it has been called—the theologian has said "salvation"—man has sought a great release and a great realization, the truest happiness and the highest good. One faith has looked forward to the earthly conquest of the evil by the good, has offered men a share in this conquest, and has pictured "heaven" as the good life in a good world. One old faith has thought that its God would establish it as an independent nation and then send it his messiah through whom justice would reign throughout the earth and all nations be brought ultimately under its own sway. Some

faiths have enjoined men singly to turn from evil and do well, thus insuring their safety and happiness in this world and the next. One ancient faith has offered many ways to the great goal, by works, by knowledge, and by personal devotion. And every faith has had its mystics who might say, with a Muslim saint:

As the birds fly in the air, as the fishes swim in the sea, leaving no trace behind, so even is the pathway of God traversed by the seeker of the spirit.

Religion has been the mightiest force within the minds of men throughout the history of mankind and the human social order.

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Chapter 2

PRIMITIVE RELIGION

Religion is very old; it may be as old as Neanderthal man.

In the famous grotto of Le Moustier in southern France there was found in 1908 a complete Neanderthal skeleton. It belonged to a boy, perhaps sixteen years of age. The body was carefully laid out, the head resting on a pile of flint fragments carefully set together. Close by the right hand was a beautiful *coup de poing*, of exceptionally fine workmanship. Around the body were the split and charred bones of wild cattle. All this was an unmistakable burial similar to countless ceremonial burials of later times. So here was respect for the dead, perhaps love of a child, and certainly a thought, however dim, of some kind of life after death. Was this religion? ¹

Neanderthal man is said to have spread over Europe and western Asia about seventy-five thousand years ago. In Europe the polychrome cave paintings found in southern France and northern Spain are a religious expression of Cro-Magnon man, who lived between fifty thousand and fifteen thousand years ago. A remarkable thing about these paintings is that they must have been created in darkness merely with the aid of flickering torches, since they are to be found today at the end of long, meandering, unlighted caverns. Here the artists of the Old Stone Age drew pictures of bison, elk, and other animals on which the life of their society depended. R. R. Marrett, the British anthropologist, makes a comparison between these caves and Gothic cathedrals. The caves may be called the cathedrals of Cro-Magnon man. The artists who created the paintings on the walls of the caves may have been the first priests. Religion is indeed very old.

Religion is universal; this is true whether we consider ancient or contemporary society. There have been trav-

elers who have brought back reports of primitive groups without religion. The real fact was that they did not recognize as religious what they saw going on. Malinowski remarks that E. B. Tylor, the founder of the modern science of anthropology, "had still to refute the fallacy that there are primitive peoples without religion." In a discussion, "Primitive Man and His Religion," Malinowski states his own conviction that "there are no peoples however primitive without religion and magic."² In even more positive terms a current book affirms:

Religion has played an important role in all the civilizations known to man. Archaeology and history afford ample evidence for this statement. . . . Students of anthropology probably would make a stronger statement than that religion is to be found among all peoples: they would emphasize that there is scarcely a single primitive tribe or an early civilization that does not reveal the *dominance* of some form of religion . . .³

THEORIES OF THE EARLIEST FORM OF RELIGION. The scientific study of primitive religion is relatively modern. The English anthropologist Tylor, to whom reference has already been made, published in 1871 a now famous book entitled *Primitive Culture*, which was the first book based upon a scientific study of the mind and habits of primitive man. Tylor found the essence of religion in animism—the belief that all objects of nature, both animate and inanimate, are imbued with consciousness. Trees, mountains, stones, springs, and the like are considered to have spirits and may thus be dealt with as persons rather than objects. There is much truth in the animistic theory. It does describe the religious attitude at a certain stage in the development of religion. However, Tylor and other leaders of the early English school of anthropology are now considered to have overrationalized the attitude of primitive man. Tylor, for example, spoke of primitive beliefs as "schemes of primitive philosophy" and of animism as "the obvious inference" to be drawn from the facts he had compiled. Similarly, Frazer described the social organization of the aborigines of Australia as displaying the "impress of delib-

erate thought and purpose.”⁴ When Tylor offers us the definition of religion as the “belief in spiritual beings,” we must therefore ask, Is this really primitive religion? Or does it represent a later stage of development?

Other theories of the historical origin of religion have been proposed. Herbert Spencer offered the view that religion had arisen in the worship of ancestors appearing as ghosts. This was based upon data scientifically gathered and considered; yet it seems an oversimplification. Not all primitive groups worship ancestral spirits. Moreover, ancestor-worship is really a variety of animism and represents no earlier stage of development. Durkheim developed the theory of totemism as the earliest form of religion and went so far as to claim that the religious was identical with the social. “In a general way . . . a society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the Divine in minds, merely by the power that it has over them; for to its members it is what a God is to its worshippers.”⁵ Totemism has been defined as “an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or artificial objects on the other side . . .” This theory has the advantage of coming close to the things which are actually real and important to the members of primitive society. It does justice to the social character of early religion. And yet one may ask, Is religion purely a product of group experience? What about religion experienced in solitude? Durkheim claims that the “religious idea is born out of (the) effervescence” of seasonal ceremonies, but as Malinowski points out, there are both sacred and profane festivals and gatherings. A group celebration is not religious *per se*.⁶

Recent anthropology finds the origin of religion in a pre-animistic stage marked by awe before the indefinable power or powers in things. The word used to designate this supernatural power is *mana*, a term Bishop Codrington brought into the religious vocabulary in 1891 in a book called *The Melanesians*. Codrington described *mana* in the following language:

All conspicuous success is a proof that a man has *mana* . . . A man's power, though political or social in character, is his *mana* . . . If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit or of a deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet or a stone around his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt . . . or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side . . . A canoe will not be swift unless *mana* be brought to bear upon it, a wind will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound.⁷

Mana thus appears to be the raw stuff of religious experience. It is intimately involved in animism, totemism, magic, and religion in all its phases of development. These relationships will be considered again in a later part of this chapter.

A CASE STUDY IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION. Much patient and exhaustive study has been devoted in our time to various aspects of Negro life in Africa. In Africa there are both Negroes and Negroids. The former are the truer, purer type, although the latter represent the black men at their primitive best in culture. The Negroes are found mostly in the forests of the Congo River basin and about the lakes and waterways inland from the coast of Guinea, the region of the all-Negro Republic of Ghana. They number many millions. They go by many names, the most familiar being Ashanti, Dahomi, and Yoruba, to mention only three language groups. Among the Negroids the most familiar name is Bantu, meaning "the people." They stretch through the Congo region and through eastern, central, and southern Africa. Bakongo, Barotse, Baganda, Mbunda, Bechuana, and Zulu are among the more prominent of the Negroid Bantu subdivisions.

There is in Ashanti the *afahye* ceremony, an annual festival (*afa*) held in connection with the eating of the first fruits of a crop, for example, yams. Part of the ceremony has reference to ancestral spirits (*samanfo*) and part is concerned with the gods. There is the *baya* ceremony in homage to departed ancestors. There is the more elaborate *adae* ceremony, during which the spirits of the departed

rulers of the clan are propitiated, their deeds recalled and extolled, and requests made of them for boons. There is also the *apo* ceremony, an annual ritual of tribal purification and restoration, by which, in the words of an early observer, "the Devil is banished from all their towns."

We may take the *apo* as a type. It is suggestive of almost every important element in Ashanti religion.⁸ It may serve also as concrete evidence of almost the whole range and content of primitive religion. The custom is several centuries old, at least, and has presumably remained substantially unchanged. The word *apo* probably means "speaking roughly." Other designations for the rite mean "to insult" and "to cleanse." The total meaning may be expressed as freedom to speak out frankly in complaint or even vilification of anyone, for the sake of unburdening the mind, cleansing the soul (*sunsum*), and doing good to the community. The ceremony lasts eight days each year.

On the first day, priests (*akomfo*) and priestesses (*akomfo mma*) with their attendants and followers, bearing the brass pans or shrines of various gods (*abosom*), arrive from neighboring regions. Toward evening, all who have arrived, along with the local priests, priestesses, and residents, parade up and down the main street, in no particular order but mingling in cheery groups. The shrines of the various gods, containing assortments of sacred objects and covered with colored silk handkerchiefs, are borne on the heads of their respective priests under gorgeous, huge umbrellas of plush and velvet. The blackened stools of deceased priests and priestesses are carried about, suspended from the necks of certain bearers. The face, neck, shoulders, arms, and chest of each priest and priestess in procession are smeared with white clay powder, while attendants bear plates of this powder for further sprinkling.

On the second day the people sit about their houses or outside the big temple of Ta Kese (the *Ashanti* earth god Tano, who in Tekiman is called Ta Kese, or elsewhere Ta Kora). In the afternoon bands of women run up and down

the main street singing *apo* songs, with such passages as these:

The God, Ta Kese, says if we have anything to say, to say it,
 For by doing so we take away misfortune from the nation.
 O King, you are a fool . . . you are impotent, O King; . . .
 We take today the victory from out your hands . . .
 Had the Ashanti known about guns,
 Would they have let the white man seize King Prempeh and
 Ya Akyaa [the Queen Mother] . . . ?
 Oh, Buabasa [the British representative] is a proper fool,
 He causes the nation to be destroyed. . . .
 Ashanti, what do you here? [the Ashanti conquered Tekiman]
 Do you tabu your own country? . . .
 We are casting stones at Ati Akosua [a god] . . .
 The Ashanti people may be the children of slaves,
 The King of Ashanti may have bought them, but not us.
 All is well today.
 We know that a Brong man eats rats,
 But today we have seen our master, Ansah, eating rats [Ansah
 was Captain Rattray's secretary] . . .
 Do you people know the *child* who is head of this town? . . .

On this second day a crier, beating an iron gong, goes about with a proclamation that the chief welcomes abuse and that if anyone has cause of quarrel with another, if any man's wife is seduced by his friend, if anyone should be insulted and does not keep his temper but lodges a complaint, he is bound by the oath and liable to a penalty. That is, a man is free during the *apo* ceremony to commit offenses and no one must complain, but after the ceremony is concluded he may be prosecuted and fined as usual!

The fourth day the priests and priestesses, stripped to the waist and holding swords or cowtails in their hands, heavily powdered with white clay dust and most of them adorned profusely with charms (*suman*, fetishes), dance throughout the morning to the accompaniment of drums and singing. The priestesses wear loose cloth skirts of gay design and the priests kilts of palm-leaf fiber. In the afternoon a sort of *durbar* is arranged near the chief's "palace."

The chief and state officials seat themselves in a great semicircle under their huge umbrellas, surrounded by sword-bearers, heralds, executioners, and others. The villagers congregate as they will. From the direction of the temple of the god Ta Kese comes a long priestly procession. In it the high priest of Ta Kese is carried aloft in a basket hammock, while the chief priestess of Ati Akosua is borne on the shoulders of one of her attendants. The procession swings past the royal semicircle from left to right, exchanging greetings and hand-shakes, and sprinkling powder. Then the high priest and priestess and their companions fill out the circle, sitting under great umbrellas opposite the royal party. The priests dispose themselves beside the circle. The subchiefs of outlying districts salute the chief. Before him the priests dance, one of whom may imitate a leopard. There may also be a humorous performance by an executioner. Among the songs of the day is one that runs, "Is today not a good day! The god who is our king has risen up. He removes misfortune from his people." One may notice that the priestess falls into a trance under her umbrella, with her attendant sprinkling her with powder. In mid-afternoon the durbar ends and the people all disperse.

Toward evening the shrines of all the gods (these shrines had not been displayed this afternoon) are again paraded, each under its umbrella, the chief priest himself bearing on his head Ta Kese's shrine and reeling in an ecstasy. Priests walk behind their chief in readiness to catch the shrine if it should fall. It had been blessed when it left Ta Kese's temple by a medicine man, who, waving a pot of water three times before it, inverted the pot quickly and placed it on the ground as the shrine went by. Again in the evening the black stools of dead priests and priestesses are slung from the necks of carriers holding big umbrellas.

Dancing, singing, and processions fill the days. Take an illustration of how the various participants may prepare. At the edge of the town about a tree are gathered a group of men, women, and boys. Beside the tree stands a small

table or chair on which rest a stool and a god-shrine with a pair of sandals on it. Beside the tree are also a couple of drums, a plate with powdered clay, a plate of eggs, and a priest's dress. These objects belong to a [visiting?] priest, and the people are his attendants. Here comes the priest to "work up the spirit of his god upon him" in preparation to take part in the dance and procession in the main street of the town. He dons the dress, powders himself, and decks himself in charms. He smashes an egg on the ground to avert any ill which another priest might will against him or his god. Then he dances to the accompaniment of drums and singing. Sometimes he holds the god-shrine on his head; sometimes he passes it to his attendants. At last the spirit is upon him and he sets off for the town, with his god upon his head, and his followers behind him. He joins the priest of another god and they dance together. Both make their way to the temple of Ta Kese, greeting there the chief priest and entering the temple for a moment. On coming out again they dance. They throw eggs into the air and intercept them on their heads as they fall. Or, each holds aloft a pair of dolls (*juju*), male and female, the "speedy messengers" of the gods. Now each holds a mirror, now a sword, again a spear, as they dance. At intervals they walk round and round shaking hands with everybody. Perhaps they dance late into the night. They are ready for tomorrow's ceremony.

On the sixth day, still more dancing, by priests and priestesses who had not performed before. And then before the following dawn many of the visiting gods are taken back to their villages, where they are sprinkled with the water of their own localities and re-established among their own peculiar people. They are taken back for fear that if left until the conclusion of the Tekiman ceremonial, they may have so enjoyed their outing as to be unwilling to return to their proper temples. Are there not empty shrines in every village whose gods one time did not return?

On the seventh day in the evening the gods of Tekiman, in particular, are taken to the river Tano, the lesser gods

leading the procession, followed by Ta Kese and Ta Kwesi (prominent in Tekiman), each god on a priest's head under his umbrella. With the gods are priests, priestesses, executioners, a herald, a soul-washer, stool-carriers, and drummers. Some marchers carry guns and cowtails. The way is lighted by torches of palm-leaf stalks. In the beginning a herald had been sent to the chief to say that the end of the festival was at hand and to ask permission for the visit to the river. The chief had said: "Go. May no misfortune happen in the new year now approaching. May still another year come round again." He and his chief wife may or may not attend the river ceremony. At the river each shrine is set down on its own stool or head pad, and the priests stand by. One of Tano's servants draws water from the river in a basin, meanwhile saying:

O Sky God [i.e., 'Nyame, the Ashanti Supreme Being], upon whom men lean and do not fall, O Goddess of Earth [i.e., Asase Ya], O thou Being that rules the underworld, O Leopard that owns the forest, O Tano River, by your kindness the edges of the years (i.e., the old and the new) have met, and we have brought here all the shrines of the gods to sprinkle them with water. May you all stand behind us with a good standing. Let no bad thing whatsoever overtake us. We give our children, we give our wives, we give ourselves into your hands. Let no evil come upon us.

White clay and *odwira* leaves are now mixed with the water. Then a spokesman with a branch of the sacred *summe* tree in each hand addresses Ta Kese and the other powers, summoning them to attend and be sprinkled. He thereafter sprinkles each shrine in turn, beginning with Ta Kese's, and saying:

We beg you for life; when hunters go to the forest, permit them to kill meat; may child-bearers bear children; life to the chief; life to all hunters; life to all priests; we take the *apo* of this year and put it in the river.

Water is sprinkled on the stools and upon all persons present. Guns are fired and everyone shouts, "Farewell! Farewell!" The shrines are scrubbed with sand and water, and the outside of each is marked by lines of wet clay, two

sets of three lines each, crossing each other at right angles. The silk handkerchiefs are again placed over the shrines and the procession starts for the temples. The chief priest and the spokesman take three long branches of the *summe* tree and after the last man has left the river bank, place them across the path, with a handful of clay and sand on top. This precaution prevents any evil from following into the town. The shrines are placed in their respective temples, the temple of Ta Kese being the main repository. There they are uncovered, and yams are placed upon them. No songs are sung during this solemn evening rite; only the drums beat occasionally.

The eighth day is the first day of the New Year for the people of Tekiman. It is celebrated by a simple service at the temple of Ta Kese. Branches of *summe* are laid in front of Ta Kese's house to mitigate any evil that might come from breaking one of his tabus. The chief priest, the priests, and the elders officiate; no women take part. In the house of Ta Kese the chief takes his stand on a raised platform at the left of the altar, while the chief priest and two men holding a sheep stand beside him. He offers thanks to Ta Kese that no one acted wantonly during the festival and a prayer on behalf of the people, himself, and the government. Then as the sheep is held above the altar, he cuts its throat, allowing some blood to drop on Ta Kese's shrine. Next the bloody sheep is held over the other shrines in turn, the blackened stools, and the shrine of the special messenger and watchman of all the gods. It is then carried out into the temple court and held dripping above the drums. The carcass is cut up in the yard, small bits of meat and entrails are distributed, some on the floor before the altar, some in the shrine-pans, some on the stools, and some to the worshipers. The chief says in a loud voice from his platform, "We invoke blessings"; to which all reply, "Farewell; blessings upon all, farewell; we invoke blessings upon the chief." Later in the day these offerings are removed, some of the bits to be roasted and eaten by the chief and the high priest.

What is the meaning of this *apo* ceremony? Consider its major elements: soul (*sunsum*); dolls, charms, or "fetishes" (*suman*); shrines and temples (*abosom* and *kuduo*); clay powder, gongs, stools, holy water, sacred plants and trees, and the dance; tabu and purification; priests (*akomfo*), priestesses (*akomfo mma*), messengers, gods (*abosom*, also meaning shrines), Ta Kese (chief earth god), and 'Nyame (Sky God, the Supreme). This is a fairly complete list of the ingredients of primitive religion. We need only two other major elements, and these, also, may be found in other ceremonies in Ashanti: spirits (*samanfo*, especially ancestral spirits) and totemism (probably the Ashanti *ntoro*). Such elements as potency⁹ and magic inhere in the *suman* and the dance, respectively. The terminology of religion in Ashanti may be taken, therefore, as providing close equivalents to the terms used among all primitives.

THE ELEMENTS OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION. (1) The original basic element in primitive religion was the sense or notion of a potency which fills and moves all things. This is still the most fundamental aspect of the primitive religious consciousness. This potency is a weird, mysterious, supernatural something in the presence of which the primitive stands in awe and fear, possibly more fear than awe. It has been given many names. It is *njomm* to the African Ekoi, *n'gai* to the African Masai, *pi* to the Indo-Chinese Moi, *maxpé*, *manitu*, *wakan*, and *orenda* to various Amerinds (American Indians). Let us call it *mana*, as the Melaneians do, amongst whom this potency as such was first discovered by modern investigators.

Mana is everywhere, intangible and all-pervasive as the ether. All things have it; rather, each separate thing is *manaized*, for *mana* is not a spiritual *entity* in a physical body; it is a dynamism which permeates, tones, and colors the whole object. It is, for example, *of* the arrow, *of* the poison on the arrowhead; and that which kills is *not* the poison or the arrow but *mana*. *Mana*, however, is not a universal something, a portion of which imbues each object,

for the primitive has not risen high enough to generalize a prime and universal reality. He acts in response to immediate, concrete things and situations, to objects *mana*-saturated, whether stream, stone, mountain, cloud, plant, or animal. Furthermore, *mana* itself has no moral quality; rather, it may be good or bad, favorable or dangerous, according to the time or place; it may do good or evil, according to the agent's will. It may be seen in operation when a man, attempting the strange and "impossible," succeeds; when a chieftain falls in battle or is taken by an enemy. When a warrior falls, either he has lost his *mana* or his *mana* was less potent than that of his antagonist.

While *mana* is ascribed to all objects, those persons are peculiarly imbued with it who behave in a strange and striking manner. Some persons, furthermore, have it more effectively than others or they know better than others how to recognize, control, and use it for a special end. These are the shamans (the *akomfo* in Ashanti), medicine men, and witches (fox-women, or what not). They have a higher knowledge and a greater skill, which may have come by chance or through a course of training. While the common man may exercise at times his own "control," he leans upon these special agents in emergencies, whereby to find favor or escape an injury. If the common man acts for himself, he does so doubtless by the aid of power which a special agent has supplied him. He has a private fetish, or a charm, perhaps.

Charms and their use illustrate an early application of *mana* to the actual life of man. They may be talismans by which some wonderful end (*telos* in Greek) or good luck may be brought about. They may be amulets by which men are protected from ill-luck, accident, or witchcraft. Charms are in most cases objects easily handled or carried on the person. They may be natural objects, such as shells or twisted roots, which have gained men's notice by some peculiar property or shape or by some unwonted show of "power." They may be objects manufactured or "doctored" by a special process or agent. The owner may himself have

found them, or he may have got them at some cost from a shaman. The faith reposed in them is absolute. If they fail to work or if they work feebly, they may be cajoled, or cuffed, or thrown away as hostile to their owner. They are objects of hope; their proper power is that of blessing; they should not disappoint their owners.

While charms have been used throughout the primitive world, they have enjoyed peculiar prominence in Negro Africa, possibly greatest prominence in West Africa, where fetishism is conspicuous. Fetishism is not religion; it is only a phase of religion, although the fetish has come to be regarded by the native as in itself potent, conscious, and willing. He distinguishes between the *suman* and the god, or shrine (*abosom*). The *suman* is usually the owner's private object. The *abosom* is god of the many, the family, the clan, or the nation. It is of higher origin and power, coming, in fact, from the Supreme God. *Mana* is the power of the *suman*, which comes from plants, animals, fairies, or witches. A *suman* is inferior to an *abosom* and may be considered by the priest of an *abosom* a hindrance to "true" religion.

2. Not only has the primitive the sense of "potency" (*mana*); he is an animist. This means that some primitives are above the stage of *mana*. They attribute to all objects life in the form of a living soul, or *anima*, and believe this soul to be distinct and separable from its object. They believe in souls, whether natural or human, and worship them. Animism gives us an innumerable multitude of beings. With reference to natural phenomena they are *spirits*; with reference to animals and humans, they are *souls*. If the primitive distinguishes between soul and spirit, he applies the former term to the living and the latter to what we should call the dead, or the inanimate. When a man dies, his soul becomes his spirit. This distinction need not be emphasized, however, while we are intent upon understanding the primitive notion that *man is alive in a world alive* and that there is a continued existence *after death*. Worship is accorded souls and spirits because they have

religious value. They have religious value because of their close connection with the fearful and mysterious.

Souls and spirits, then, are higher forms, a development beyond the fundamental, primitive consciousness which feels the potency that fills and moves all things. Out of man's reaction to this primal sense come what we know as nature-worship, on the one hand, and the worship of ancestral spirits, on the other, as man's mind frames these higher and more definite concepts of soul and spirit. In any one community there may exist a mixture of ideas. In one man's view, a charm may be itself alive, saturated with potency, while in another's view it may possess a soul. In still another view, the charm may simply be a symbol that represents an object which is potent. There may be objects worshiped by one man as if they were sentient and able to act on man's behalf, charms, for instance, of the *mana* type. There may be objects which a man addresses as if there were spirits in or near them, such as a star or a tree. There may be disembodied spirits, the souls of departed kindred or of dead priests and chieftains. Indeed, any one man may have within himself this confusion of ideas. Seldom, in fact, is any worshiper free from such confusion. It need not surprise us, then, if we find among the primitives no clear-cut conception of the *anima*, although we find among them animistic consciousness and practices.

No primitives have done any systematic thinking on the nature of the souls and spirits which they worship.¹⁰ If they use many terms for *soul*, this is evidence of confusion of thought rather than proof of thoughtful differentiation or proof of the existence of multiple souls. Their distinction between the soul of the living and the spirit of the dead is not speculative, nor is their query whether the soul is life, or blood, or breath, or wind. It is natural for even primitives to have various terms to express various characteristics and operations of one vitality. It is natural, also, to personify these vital forces.

To the primitive the human soul is separable from the body. It may leave the body when one dreams or swoons,

but it returns. It leaves permanently at death. It may be taken from the body by a shaman and put away somewhere for safety in a time of danger. It may direct itself. When a child is born its soul may actually take up residence in a plant or tree which must thereafter be carefully tended for the very life of the child. A soul may reside in any one of several parts of the human body, in the liver, or the heart, or the skull, or in all at one time, for variety of function. Some Africans contend that the child receives one soul from its mother and another from its father, but not two separate souls. In a similar vein, some Amerinds declare there is a soul which at death goes to the spirit world, and one which lingers about the body or the grave. One man may get another's soul. If he eat the flesh of an enemy, his heart, his liver, or his brain, he may acquire his courage, patience, or wisdom. These and other hasty theories tend to show that to the primitive what we call personality is highly complex and that his personality is intimately identified with the world about him. Thus the many forms and many names of one vital principle. Thus the soul as that vital principle operating in and through the human body. Thus man's shadow as his soul's extension. So, also, the view that a man's name is himself, and if another has or knows his name, he controls his soul thereby. A man may not pronounce his name before a stranger or an enemy, for this might be to give his soul away. Then he would die.

To what extent the primitive worships nature-spirits distinct from the souls of living men and things and the spirits of dead men is difficult to say. Negro African religion has much to do with the veneration of the spirits of the dead (cf. the Ashanti *samanfo*). It shows little regard for nature-spirits as such, although some attention without doubt is paid to certain spirits, not ancestral, which live in trees, rivers, rocks, and mountains. The North American Indians, on the other hand, had high regard for nature spirits, for the spirits of trees, the cottonwood especially. They seem to have had no place for an ancestral cult. The Tami Islanders of Melanesia "clearly distinguish the spirits of the

departed from supernatural beings of other categories.”¹¹ But most Melanesian supernatural beings seem derived from the souls of the deceased. Among many primitives spirits which at first might be considered nature-spirits—certain tree-spirits, in particular—prove on closer view to be the spirits of the dead, which have taken up their residence in trees. It is a primitive trait to personify the objects of his world, to create a spirit world in duplicate, and to people it with the spirits of his family, clan, and nation.

3. To what extent do primitives have gods? If gods, what kind? Obviously a god is something higher than mere potency, powers, and spirits. Are there, then, stages of development in religion? Doubtless there is progress in man's thoughts of the divine. His experience widens and new needs appear, and his regard increases for natural and supernatural forces. We find gods in primitive religion, although when the gods arrive the half-gods, powers, and spirits do not altogether disappear. The gods are comprehended and served by the more rationally sensitive members of the group, while the common man continues his devotion to the spirits. We discovered in Ashanti the *abosom*, with their slightly higher powers, priests, tabus, sacred days, and shrines. We even found a “High God,” ’Nyame, by whom, according to a myth, all the gods were made. There were, it says, four sons of ’Nyame (created “out of nothing”?), whom he sent down to earth (whence came the earth? presumably from ’Nyame) for the good of men (’Nyame’s creatures?) and for the good they might receive from men. Rivers and lakes now bear the names of these four sons. That is, the waters of Ashanti are looked upon as containing the spirit of the divine Creator, ’Nyame. Tano (Tekiman Ta Kese), the chief Ashanti earth-god, resides near the source of the Tano River. His temple there, we may suppose, is fairly free of *suman* (charms), such as usually adorn Ashanti temple walls. He is represented not by an image (idolatry is more than primitive) but by a shrine, a brass pan containing objects and “medicine” of various kinds: clay from the sacred river; roots of medicinal

plants; bark, tendrils, and leaves of sacred trees; a white bead and a nugget of virgin gold. All were assembled by one on whom god Tano's spirit came, and consecrated by a formal ceremony of incantation, prayer, and sacrifice. There are gods like Tano throughout the primitive world. They constitute a natural polytheism, often quite distinct from anything ancestral (that is, they are gods whose origin is *natural*). They may be supernatural. They are superhuman, though humanized, personified, and therefore moral. They are not vague like the "powers" (or *mana*) nor capricious like the spirits. They are dependable, if man can only know their will. There are gods of plenty, war-gods, gods of death, and so on. There is usually a locality, perhaps remote, where they make their "home."

The presence of a High God raises questions of origin and significance. Whence the conception? What the character and function of such a deity? What relation can he sustain to spirits, other gods, and men? That there are supreme deities among certain primitives cannot be doubted. Nor can one doubt that they are worshiped. There are, in addition to 'Nyame, Nzambi of the Lower Congo; the Bakwena "Supreme Spirit"; the Zulu "Lord of Heaven," who alone can send rain; Tilo, or Heaven, of the Thongas; the Algonquin Indian "Great Spirit" (*Kichi Manitu*); the Andaman *Puluga*, and many more. Some students claim that they are merely authors, originators, or "culture heroes," by whom creation is explained, who made men and things from pre-existent elements. If this is so, these gods have no religious significance. Other students claim to find true High Gods, even, in fact, the One God, who is altogether good, the author of good, and who created *ex nihilo*. This God, whatever be his local name, is worshiped, but not frequently.

It is not necessary to assume that the conception of a Supreme is due to missionary influence, whether Christian, Muslim, or Jewish. There is no valid objection to the assumption that the idea is innate, as that of Yahweh of the Kenites. Probably we should look toward the sky and the

sun for an explanation. Among certain nomads the sky itself early became the greatest god, for it alone continued with them on their journeys, while local gods were left behind. To peoples in the agricultural stage both the sky and the sun have extreme importance. Both are powers which prosper or undo them. Consider 'Nyame once again. In spite of spirits and the lesser gods, he is widely worshiped. Almost every village contains an altar to him in the shape of a forked tree branch ("God's tree") holding a basin with a neolithic celt ("God's axe"), and prayers and sacrifices are made to him. The *abosom* are his intermediaries. Ordinarily, 'Nyame is considered too remote to be concerned directly with the affairs of men. He is active for men's sake through his delegated agents. Man is devoted to these lesser powers, for they are near. In his simple-minded attempt to realize the presence of deity through worship it is easier and more availing to call on what is near.

To recapitulate, primitive man believes in the existence of various powers and beings upon whose favor his welfare is dependent; he believes these powers and beings to be actuated by motives like his own or higher. Having personified them, he can comprehend them. He believes it to be possible for him to work upon them to keep them from doing harm and to make them do good. In so far as he acts upon these beliefs he is religious and a seeker of religious knowledge and experience (mere belief itself does not constitute religion). How he deals with these beings is determined partly by what he thinks of them, but more by what he desires them to do, what he wants to get from them. Experience sooner or later indicates what means to use to accomplish his desires. In time, common experience combines into an accepted body of ritual upon whose exact performance the welfare of the group depends.

4. Ritual is a consequential factor, as the *apo* ceremony has already indicated. We have now to examine more closely the elements, the character, and the ministers of it. It is not always religious; there are certain ceremonial customs in connection with birth, marriage, death, and other

episodes, which may or may not be religious, although they frequently include some religious element. But ritual at certain times is definitely religious, as in recurring seasons when men are most aware of their physical needs and of their dependence upon climatic influences, or on special occasions arising from danger or disaster.

Ritual at first must have been spontaneous and instinctive, the outgrowth of isolated responses to such influences as accidents, diseases, perils, times of hope, hunger, and awe. Men tried to find out what to do about it. They did something about it, if possible, and when a like situation arose again, they repeated any act that might before have been effective. A man in flight from danger might have stumbled on an odd-shaped stone, have picked it up, and fled to safety. Thereafter, his plea in time of danger was to the stone, his benefactor. The simplest forms, both individual and social, are found among unsettled peoples, while more elaborate forms, mostly social, are found among agricultural folk. In fertile areas where life is settled and complex, ritual also is complex. Most primitives are agricultural; there are few who still linger in the hunting and fishing stage. In agricultural ritual, more than in nomadic, there is representation, personification, and anthropomorphism, with emphasis upon the seasons. Nature is a prime concern, and the gods are in process of being humanized and civilized.

The primitive's objective in the use of ritual is to realize the presence of his god, or gods, and to work on the divine for certain human ends. One of the commonest ritual exercises is the dance. It exhibits the primitive man in a many-sided role. In some instances the dance is nothing more than man's expression of joyousness, except that it exhibits rhythm, with the movements measured as well as graceful. The rhythm is that of the man of action, the endless repetition of acts, sounds, and words of the same general level¹² rather than the rhythm of the thinker who in recital and dramatization craves for logical coordination and integration of events. Often the dance has such serious

purposes as providing animal and plant food, guaranteeing victories in war, initiating youths into full membership in the tribe, expelling demons and cleansing from evil, and invigorating the tribe. The dance itself is considered as having peculiar, sacred power. Men put forth to sea, and their womenfolk sing and dance upon the beach to bring them safely back again. Men die and the dance is performed to bring them back to life or at least to secure their aid in further ventures. If during the dance a spirit or a god is called upon, the exercise is definitely religious and counts as worship, although its predominant value even then is magical.

The Hopi snake dance, the most famous of all American Indian dances and one of the most famous religious ceremonies of primitive peoples, was the climax of a rain-making ceremony. The snakes used during the nine-day performance were the embodiment of the spirits of their ancestors, from whom came the knowledge of making rain. This dance was the essential element of Hopi religion. The sun dance of the Crow Indians was a prayer for vengeance. A particular brave is thirsting for revenge. He visits a medicine man, the possessor of a sacred doll whose power is expected to grant his prayer. He and the medicine man arrange a drama that takes on the color of a war expedition and involves the entire tribe for perhaps several months. Young braves fast and torture themselves during the ceremony, while old braves proclaim their prowess and recite their deeds. It becomes a tribal event, even though for particular members there are personal, intimate motives. Among the Cheyenne Indians the sun dance was more an individual affair, the fulfilment of a vow. Having escaped some frightful danger, the warrior gives a dance before his tribe. It not only pays his vow, but it energizes his people, for all the tribe takes part, at least, as sympathetic witnesses.

Whatever the details and the locality, the story of the dance is essentially uniform. All primitives are fond of music, singing, and drama. They have their needs, and

they implore their spirits and gods to fill them. The dance is magical movement and the symbol of movement. It takes the place of thought; it is emotional rather than reflective. As the primitive gives his body to exciting dances, he calls upon his gods for what he wants; he moves in order to move them. Here is movement set to music and singing to affect the living and the dead, to make the family, the fold, and the field productive, and to win a multitude of individual and social goods.

5. Magic and religion have a relationship which has been discussed much but without finality. Sir James Frazer drew a distinction between magic as direct control of superior powers on the one hand and religion as the propitiation of these powers. Magic thus defined is coercive rather than persuasive; religion is persuasive. Magic, viewed as primitive man's confidence in his ability to control, was described by Frazer as a kind of pseudoscience, or primitive man's substitute for modern man's science. In the course of time, according to Frazer, magic succumbed both to science and religion as these proceeded to fulfill their respective functions. More recent study seems to indicate no priority of magic over religion but suggests that these represent two different methods of approach to the basic fact of primitive experience, that impersonal supernatural force known as *mana*.¹³

The religion of all primitives is full of magic, of which there are two kinds, black and white. Black magic has to do with demons; white magic, with friendly powers. Black magic is much the lower type and stands distinctly apart. White magic may rely upon good gods for help and come very near religion. It is black magic which has been prevalent among primitives. It works by two principles, that like produces like, and that two objects once in contact are always in contact. Take the case of like producing like. The medicine man draws the figure of a person in sand, ashes, or clay, or shapes an image in clay, straw, or wood. He considers that thus he has the person in his power, to do him good or ill, as he may wish. By pricking a certain spot,

for example, in the image or figure he affects the corresponding part of the person. To kill an enemy he might run a needle into the head or heart of the enemy's likeness. To cure a friend of illness, he might prick the friend's image and let the demon out. We are familiar with the process of "burning in effigy," by which an enemy may be injured or destroyed. Or take the case of contact magic. The Malay charm illustrates this. The charm, a contact-magic charm, is made of nail parings, eyebrows, hair, spittle, and other parts of an intended victim. These parts once of his body are still of his body, and so may be used for magical effects. Simpler still is the magic of stabbing a man's footprint for the sake of laming him, like the huntsman who drives a nail into the fresh hoofprint of the fleeing deer, believing that this will halt the animal.

The prevalence of magic in primitive religion is nowhere better seen than in the place and power of the magician. By whatever name he is known—doctor, sorcerer, shaman, witch, exorcist, medicine man, or priest—the magician is the greatest figure among primitives. He is greater than the chief, unless the chief be also a magician. He is the custodian of all the lore of magic, the authority on all the usages. He has knowledge of mysteries and control of hidden forces. Special circumstances may have made him conspicuous in relation to the natural and spiritual order, giving him extraordinary power. Or he may have come by heredity or special training into his position. By whatever means he obtained it, power is undoubtedly his; and men have fearful faith in him. The magician, or let us say the priest, is the mediator between men and the unseen. He gives thought to the causes of events, hits upon effective methods of procedure to gain desired results, and makes himself indispensable to all men in their time of need. He is the interpreter of belief and the chief custodian and administrator of religious ritual.

6. In worship the two constant elements are offering and prayer, or better, offerings and prayers. These elements are more prominent among the higher primitives

who recognize ancestral spirits and nature powers as gods. Worship is eminently practical. Men desire both escape from evil and the realization of good. The most primitive offerings were probably things to eat; man liked food and knew his dependence upon it and so gave it to his gods. He still gives offerings of food but with mixed motives. Some primitives give gifts to win the favor of their gods or to appease them; some seem merely intent upon sheer homage and devotion or demonstration of self-denial. Some seem to think the gods, because they are men's saviors, must be fed to be kept alive or to be kept strong against old age. Sometimes the offering is of blood in expiation, to cleanse the people of their sins. When the flesh of the slaughtered animal is consumed in part by priest and people, it strengthens the whole tribe; and when portions of the offering are burnt, the odor rising on high is pleasing to the nostrils of the gods. Sacrifice is not a simple but a complex rite even among primitive peoples. It may have some lofty intent; it may be little more than magical. Its efficacy depends on the exactness of the performance whether it be magical or religious, but especially if it be religious. Priests, whose office grows in importance with the development of the sacrificial rite, preserve the tradition and see that sacrifice is done exactly. From this it is only a step to become ministers of the will and purpose of the gods.

Offerings are accompanied by prayers; man voices his intent before the gods, telling his simple needs. Primitive prayers are for the most part extempore, but since the occasions of prayer are more or less constant, the prayers often assume apparently fixed forms. Requests of various sorts are made: for escape from a present or a dreaded evil, for the opportunity and power to obtain revenge, for a chance to get another's goods without detection, for a chance to kill an enemy, for fertility and increase of flocks, for skill in hunting, and, in the case of a recorded Navaho Indian's prayer,¹⁴ to be made clean and whole, swift and courageous. But they are mainly requests for material blessings. Man's usual attitude in prayer is one of due hu-

mility; if he takes to drama as an offering and for the sake of acting out unspeakable religious thoughts which clamor for expression, postures showing humility are most common. But drama that is purely magical acts out spells, not prayers. Words men utter then are threats, not humble petitions, although frequently even in religious ritual, words are used as charms, as in "calling on the name" of the god.

7. Primitives are not only animists, polydemonists, and polytheists; some of them are totemists, as well. Totemism in itself is not uniform. There is no totemism in the Andaman islands, for example; African totemism is a modified sort (the Bantu do not sacrifice to their totems), and the Amerind's totem is scarcely more than a guardian spirit. By totemism, strictly speaking, we mean a theory of human descent from a natural object—usually a plant or an animal—and of kinship established through such common descent. The word *totem* comes from the Ojibwa Indians, but the classical example of totemism among living primitives is that of the Australian blacks. Among them each clan bears a plant or animal name, at times, even the name of an inanimate thing, and professes descent from the ancestor whose name is borne. Intermarriage of men and women of the same totemic group is prohibited. The living totem representing the original ancestor is sacred and tabu to its own group except at times of religious ceremonial. What pertains to the totem and to the group is sacred and tabu. It is not the totem as such but the totem as symbol which is sacred and tabu, and since the totem is the symbol of the group, the group symbolized is sacred. Their religion, therefore, is a matter of group experience, and since the group is a comprehensive religious unit, it is virtually its own god, and its totem is the symbol of the group inherently divine. Too much, however, has been made of totem and totemism, but we must reckon with such phases of religion as totemism may properly represent. No kind of totemism is general, and what there is is far from being strictly primitive. Aside from totemism, there are sufficient explanations of the wide prevalence of animal and plant

names, with the worship of animals and plants. The outstanding fact is that many primitives claim kinship in small groups through plant or animal ancestors and that many groups merely symbolize themselves through a totem for social and political solidarity. The real religion may still be animism, possibly ancestor-worship. To the American Indian the totem may be an individual rather than a group sign, the guardian spirit revealed to the young brave as he keeps his lonely vigil in quest of a vision. This spirit may remain the brave's own private secret for life (such it is in the Crow vision-quest), or it may become the spirit of the clan or sib.

8. Primitive religion designates and insists upon the enforcement of many tabus. The Polynesian says *tapu*, the Hawaiian, *kapu*; we say "tabu." Equivalents of the word are found among all primitives, for the notion is common; thus, *yila*, "everything prohibited," among the South African Thongas; *akyiwadie*, "something you turn your back upon," in Ashanti. The theory is that any object, any act, or any person that implies a danger to any individual or to the community is under a kind of ban. The ban may be artificially imposed, as in the case of protection for crops or private property, or it may inhere in corpses, human blood, sacrificial offerings, strangers, murderers, magicians, priests, and kings. There is no universal system of tabu, but the theory is universal. Some of the commonest tabus have to do with eating and drinking, for these acts are dangerous, since at these times a man's soul may escape from his mouth or be extracted by his enemy. Certain savages eat behind closed doors. Other savages will not let even their own womenfolk see them drink. Some kings will allow neither man nor beast to see them at their meals. No man may drink from the king's cup, lest power go out of the king and his life be endangered. Moreover, it appears, many spirits and gods have their own tabus. The names of gods, at times, are known only to themselves or if known to their followers, may not be spoken by them. Temples, shrines,

holy days, and objects associated with spirits and gods are tabu except at certain times and to special persons.

Tabu is negative magic. Whereas positive magic says, "Do this, and such a result will follow," tabu, or negative magic says, "Do not do this, for fear that such an issue will result." Fundamentally persons and things are tabu because they are considered mysterious and hence sources of potential injury. The notion tends to differentiate between what is impure and is therefore to be shunned, and what is holy and is therefore to be avoided; but the primitive never quite makes the distinction clear between what is "devilish" and what is "godly." Penalty for the breach of a tabu ranges from the automatic discharge of magico-spiritual potency which visits its own punishment upon the offender, to the wrath of offended spirits and gods visited directly or administered through priests. Tabu serves certain useful, protective purposes, but obviously (to us) tabus are characteristic of victims of imagination. Since tabus are chiefly negative, the evils avoided are imaginary, and the goods acquired by restraint are also imaginary.

9. In some quarters, primitive religion is predominantly, if not exclusively, regard for and the worship of ancestral spirits. This is not so among the North American Indians, but it is remarkably true of the African blacks who constitute the bulk of living primitives. We have referred to the *samanfo*, or ancestral spirits, recognized in the *afahye*, *baya*, and *adae* ceremonies of Ashanti. Whereas in Ashanti there are deities other than ancestral spirits, among the Bantu ancestor-worship is "always normative to thought,"¹⁵ and "the aspect of religion which has gripped their interest most firmly is that ancestral spirits are active in the affairs of men."¹⁶ The Bantu pay little attention to other powers than the spirits of the dead. The great Unkulunkúlu of the Bantu Zulus was originally an ancestor who became God. But 'Nyame was first God, then the creator and ancestor of all. The mausoleum of the royal spirits of Ashanti at Bantama, distinct from the temple of 'Nyame, became the cen-

ter and prototype of the cult which throughout Ashanti venerates the spirits of ancestors.

The primitive is like men of all ages in that he has intuitive convictions that (1) there is an existence after death, not differing radically from the scenes and experience of this bodily life; (2) the dead, still near, are interested in the lives of the living, especially their own descendants and relatives; and (3) the welfare of the dead depends upon the behavior of the living. There is no absolute difference between the highest and the lowest of men, and even the primitive refuses to draw a clear line between life and death or between the divine and that which is not divine. The primitive mind tends to fashion and hold ideas of permanence, continuity, and unity, be they never so rudimentary, and he acts in various ways upon these notions. Customs vary, but more in content than in motive and interpretation. Where fear is unrelieved, the dead are "worshiped" to prevent them from molesting the living. The dead body may be loaded with stones, or a pyramid may be built over it, or it may merely be bound with cords or thrust through with a stake to fasten it to the ground. Some Congo races strew thorns about the grave to prick the feet of the dead should they try to return to the midst of the living. The Nicobar islanders close the eyes of the dead to keep them from seeing the way back. Such customs indicate not only that the dead retain the powers they had in life but that they are hostile toward the living. It follows that means must be employed to placate them, whereas if those who died were friendly, means must be used to keep them so. It is also thought that by dying they gained other powers, such as ability to move with lightning-like rapidity and to enter other bodies, whether of men, animals, or inanimate objects. Somewhat contrariwise, but with little meaning to allay men's fears, it is thought that the soul by dying becomes a pale and unsubstantial ghost, at least until it "finds itself" in the spirit world and has been nourished by the offerings of the living. Not only, then, are the dead

as powerful as though they were alive, but they now know what the living do and say and experience, although the living do not assume that the dead are omnipotent. In particular, the religious obligation is between the living and their own deceased relatives, especially their fathers and the paternal ancestral lines,¹⁷ although there is recognition of the ancestral spirits of the tribes.

Ancestor-worship assumes two forms: private and public. For private boons, for protection against dreaded ills, and for deliverance from personal foes and misfortunes, the primitive relies upon the spirits of his own family. Offerings are made to the family gods during the routine of the day—a little food to the spirits before commencing a meal, a few drops of water before the drinker quenches his own thirst, greetings to the spirits at the dawn of a new day and when night closes in. There are unusual ceremonies for unusual occasions, such as childbirth, marriage, illness in the family, or among the cattle. Certain spots about the hut may be sacred to the spirits, such as the central pole or the uprights of the doorway, and a family may have its own priest to perform, with ancestral images and symbols, the major sacred rites.¹⁸

The worship of the tribal spirits differs from private worship,¹⁹ but one should never draw too distinct a line between family gods and tribal gods. The tribal gods are usually the gods of some outstanding family or the gods of many great and powerful families which have flourished during the centuries. There may be, as in Ashanti, a headquarters of the spirits of the ruling house. Tribal gods are the objects of worship on all great tribal occasions, such as the time of sowing, harvest time, the offering of the first fruits, and times of war. When there is need of rain, they alone are implored, unless, as in some instances, there is one great Lord who controls the rain. Among agriculturists water is always needed, and water is commonly supplied by the ancestral spirits or through their intercession, as in the case of the Hopi snake dance. Says Rattray of the cult of

ancestral spirits in Ashanti: "It is intimately bound up with the predominating desire for the fertility of man and the fertility of nature. 'Give us children; give us good hunting; give us a good harvest'; such is the basis of every prayer, whether to the gods or to the ghosts." Gods and ghosts are the two basic elements in ancestor-worship. The conception of spirit was first gained through death, presumably the death of one's own kinsfolk. This conception being applied by some peoples to objects other than man, there came to be for the living nature spirits as well as spirits of the dead. As worship developed there came to be nature-worship and ancestor-worship. The two are related, but not identical, save in the case of an ancestral spirit taking up its abode in a natural object, even in the sky. Not all gods were first human spirits. All ancestor-worship is religion, but religion is not entirely ancestor-worship. How one may merge into another may be seen by a close examination of the Taro cult of Papua. What began as the worship of the taro spirits (the spirits of the corn, or *ba*, the staple food of the Orokaiva) became by a significant change the placation of the spirits of ancestors or departed relatives, believed to control the growth of the taro. This is at once a fertility cult and a cult of the dead.

CONCLUSION: HOW SHALL WE EVALUATE PRIMITIVE RELIGION? From the functional point of view, religion is best interpreted in terms of the values it serves. Seen from this perspective, cultural patterns, ways of doing things, forms which nourish the sense of value experienced in personal and social living, become all-important. The annual *apo* ceremony which we have described obviously has an important social function in the life of the Ashanti. When in the inevitable clash of cultures ancient forms are destroyed, there are inevitable losses. Ruth Benedict in her *Patterns of Culture* repeats a poignant story of "The Cup That Was Broken," as told to her by a chief of the Digger Indians of California:

One day, without transition, Ramon broke in upon his descriptions of grinding mesquite and preparing acorn soup. "In the beginning,"

he said, "God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup they drank their life. They all dipped in the water, but their cups were different. Our cup is broken now. It has passed away." ²⁰

By the "cup of life," Ruth Benedict continues, Ramon referred to "the things that had given significance to the life of his people, the domestic rituals of eating, the obligations of the economic system, the succession of ceremonials in the villages, possession in the bear dance, their standards of right and wrong, . . ." ²¹ values central to any society, primitive or sophisticated. Various examples may be given of cultural patterns which express religious values both in primitive and modern society. There are rites of initiation into the social group, whether we think of the Indian vigil, Christian ceremonies of confirmation, the Jewish Bar Mitzvah, or the bestowal of the sacred thread upon Hindu boys. In all societies religion surrounds the crises of human existence—birth, adolescence, marriage, death—with its sanctions, its basket of meaning, its cup of life. So-called primitive man had ceremonies connected with the fertility of the soil, which might suggest to modern man that he adopt a more significant attitude toward nature than that of exploitation. In the light of the above, Hoeffding's sociological definition of religion takes on added meaning: "The fundamental axiom of religion, that which expresses the innermost tendency of all religions is the axiom of the conservation of values." But religion, and religious ceremonies, do more than strengthen the social tissue of human life. Religion enhances life's meaning by pointing to an added dimension of existence.

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Chapter 3

AN INTRODUCTION TO RELIGION IN CHINA

The Chinese, now totaling six hundred million people,¹ not only constitute the most numerous nation on earth, but they are heirs to a way of life which is one of only three or four wholly indigenous cultures in the world. Chinese civilization, moreover, is remarkable for its continuity, having been identified with one people for a period of three or four thousand years, in contrast with the Western cultural stream to which successive nations have made their contributions and disappeared. In a culture with such ancient roots, it is inevitable that there should be a large traditional substratum with marked resemblance to the "primitivism" of which we have spoken in the preceding chapter. Unlike some other traditions, Chinese life has been singularly lacking in prophets and reformers, although it has had its share of philosophers and poets.

Chinese religion has been largely a religion of the masses. They have borne the torch of religious development, and they have been its strength and support. First of all, Chinese religion has not been the creation of a few individuals but a gradual evolution out of the spiritual life of a great number of simple folk . . . By the masses is meant the common, simple folk of China, who constitute some 85 percent of the population, and by religion is meant the three traditional systems of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism . . . I have always urged that instead of dividing the religious life of the Chinese people into three compartments called Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, it is far more accurate to divide it into two levels, the level of the masses and the level of the enlightened . . . By the masses is meant the 85 percent of the Chinese people who are devout but ignorant. By the enlightened is meant the intelligentsia and the illiterate farmers, fishermen, and similar humble folks who may use a smaller vocabulary but often express greater wisdom.²

There has been throughout the centuries among the masses of China a sense of mysterious potency which we find characteristic of the primitive peoples. There is no general term or ideograph for it in their language, no symbol corresponding with *mana*, unless it be *ch'i* (*pneuma*), but the vague conception of undefined assumption of such potency has been manifest in various aspects of the people's life. The pilgrim to Mount Omei might rub a copper coin on an ancient bronze pagoda and carry the coin away with the conviction that it will protect him from demons and disease; or, at Chengtu, the devotee might seek to cure an ailment by rubbing a bronze goat at the part of the goat's body which corresponds with the diseased portion of his own body; or, again, a Szechuan coolie whose back aches from the heavy burdens he has borne might seek relief by placing sticks in the crevices of certain rough and curious stones. Charms have been everywhere in use: printed or written characters pasted by doorways or in the rooms of houses, pinned on bedding or sewed to the clothing; the stamps of seals belonging to temples, gods, and priests; and many others. Mock money for the dead has been dispatched to them in some temple brazier. Divination has been exercised by coins and sticks, auguries from entrails, portents and geomancy by means of "wind and water." There have been many such practices resting upon the notion of an all-pervading potency within the universe, and they are likely to continue among the illiterate masses, no matter how vigorously the new People's (Communist) Republic brands them as superstitions.

Chinese religion of recent years represents a survival of beliefs and practices from very ancient times, in spite of agnosticism on the one hand and rationalism on the other. We may detect in it two major original and persistent factors, nature-worship and ancestor-worship, with possibly the greater emphasis upon the latter. It is eminently fitting, in the case of a homogeneous people who have always lived in the land they now occupy, that we consider the

whole history of their spiritual attitudes and activities, especially since throughout most of their traceable existence, devotion to the dead has been the outstanding characteristic. "Filial piety" (the filial attitude toward one's living elders and superiors, which extends itself in worship of their spirits after they have died) has been the ruling idea in religion. It is this element more than any other which has made for Chinese conservatism; the faces of the living have been set toward the past in so far as life is controlled by the will of the departed.

THE PAST. China's past runs back into the third millennium B.C. Where there is so much culture one expects to find much social history, even as one infers a long geologic era from such stalactites as are found in the Carlsbad Caverns. What the Chinese writings call "history" (*shu*, to write) began with the accession of the emperor Yao (known while alive as Fang hsün) in 2356 B.C. to rulership over the people of the ancient basin of the Yellow River (the Huang-ho) when it flowed from the vicinity of the present-day city of K'ai-feng southeastward to the Yellow Sea. The first verifiable date in Chinese history is 842 B.C.,³ as we reckon, but this does not mark the boundary between fancy and fact in Chinese records. We may trust the general facts preserved from the fifteenth century B.C., at least. Before the end of the pre-Christian era the great Chinese historian Ssema Ch'ien had carefully weighed the records from the earliest times of which anything was known. Even before the end of the sixth century B.C., Confucius had begun the editing of all the ancient classics. It is tradition that as early as the era of Yao, and of Shun, who followed him, democratic institutions flourished along the Yellow River: government was "by the people." By 1000 B.C. four definite classes of society had formed: scholars, husbandmen, mechanics, and merchants—their relative ranking in the social scale being indicated by the order given. The high character of early Chinese civilization is further indicated by the fact that the ceremonies of marriage and the burial of

the dead, the institution of writing, and the calculation of chronology are so ancient that the Chinese cannot account for them.

The beginnings of Chinese religion lie within the realm of conjecture, but by the aid of available sources and by comparison with the general history of religion, we may reconstruct the early form. We have no good ground for believing that the origin and development of religion in China is essentially different from the story of religion in any other major field. What difference there is lies in the quality and comprehensiveness of Chinese religion. We have no name to give the early Chinese form, unless we call it "Sinism," or the Sinæan religion (the Greeks called China *Sin* and her people *Sinai*). Such a term may be used for convenience for the pre-Confucian era, say until 600 B.C. The Sinæan era provided what is basic for all time in China, especially as this base was modified into the two indigenous orders, Taoism and Confucianism. Confucius, it should be remembered, professed merely to transmit what he found by "looking into antiquity." Sinæan religion consisted of the two major aspects to which reference has already been made, nature-worship and ancestor-worship, both of which, in China, are immemorial and not always separable.

NATURE WORSHIP. As in India and Greece, although in a far less personal way than in these lands, so also in China the overarching sky is the first great early object of worship. It is the sky-god, or the sky-as-god, become universal. In Greece, Zeus as god of the sky, or god in the sky, became supreme and the head of a pantheon of separate, conspicuous gods, including Apollo, who rose to the position of sun-god. In India the early sky-god, "Father Sky," gave way to gods of wind, sun, storm, and the dawn. In China, on the other hand, the sky maintained its high place and never became subordinated to other nature powers. This is in part the clue to both Chinese morality and Chinese religion. Heaven is supreme as father, governor, and pattern of mankind. As the rationalist philosopher Chu Hsi

said in the twelfth century A.D., "Heaven is God and God is Heaven."

The "inverted bowl they call the sky" is known as T'ien. This term has yielded various meanings, such as the material heavens, nature, the eternal principle of right, and God. We might say with Chu Hsi that T'ien is Heaven. It is a very ancient term, originating at least as early as 1000 B.C. There is evidence that the early Chinese recognized also a high god Shang-ti, and a divine being Ti, but it is difficult to understand what relation T'ien, Shang-ti, and Ti sustained to one another. The view has been advanced that the three separate terms came from three separate sources—three tribal sources—and that each represented the supreme deity. The great Taoist Chuang-tze used the three terms as equivalents. Another view is that Shang-ti is "the Most High God" whose dwelling place is Heaven (T'ien) and that Ti is a deified ancestor-god. It is probable that Shang-ti (or simply Ti, for the character *ti* is the same in both cases) represents the more intimate, personal, and active aspect of divinity, and T'ien the more remote and passive. Chu Hsi observed this distinction in his use of the terms. In general, however, we may assume for Chinese religion what we shall discover to be true of religion in certain other lands, that these and other terms are many names for one God. If then we associate the terms together under the one title "Heaven," we may offer the following descriptive definition of the Chinese conception of the Supreme, a definition true of the pre-Confucian era as well as of subsequent times:

Personal, loving, fatherly, the Creator, spiritual without form, omnipresent, omniscient, eternal, supreme, moral, moved by virtue, compassionate to the people, the dethroner of tyrants, who has attached his law to every faculty and relationship, and will give effect to what the people properly desire.

We must take this definition, however, for less than what it seems to mean, for the meaning of "God" in early Chinese religion is not so clear and consistent as our definition indicates. China has had no theologians in the strict sense of

the term to gather up the fragments of phrases and the scattered ideas with respect to Heaven as God, and to mould them into a consistent whole. At best we are left in some doubt as to God's personality, and as to his essential moral character. At times we scarcely know whether he is more than Law, or a Name to cover and symbolize all the component elements of human experience, or yet a Unity whose reality after all inheres in the parts which make it.

Next to Heaven, Earth (Hu) was held in highest regard in ancient China. Indeed, from about 1000 B.C. the worship of Earth enjoyed an equal place with that of Heaven. Heaven and Earth were the "parents of all creatures." As the heavenly bodies had their place in the worship of Heaven, so the spirits of the mountains, rivers, and seas, and of the soil and the crops had their place in the Earth cult. It was the function of the State to offer annually at the capital sacrifices to Heaven at midsummer, and to Earth at midwinter, and otherwise to administer the nature cult at various times and places.

The development of the relation of Heaven and Earth, and especially the early association of the two on equal terms, seems to have furnished ground for an interesting dualism which has characterized Chinese thought and religion for three thousand years. We might say it is a dualism against a background of the One, for Chinese philosophy is monistic, with emphasis upon the good life in a good world. It exhibits the earliest Chinese attempt at speculation about the physical universe. The One which constitutes this background is the Tao, the Absolute, the First Cause, Nature-in-Itself. The Tao is essentially of two parts, a heavenly, positive, active, aggressive part, and an earthly, negative, passive, receptive part. Heaven and Earth, then, become products and aspects of the Tao. In fact, the creation of Heaven and Earth and all that they severally contain took place through the alternate motion and rest of the Tao; and every object in the universe, whether animate or inanimate, is possessed of these two qualities of motion and rest in interaction. These are the two principles through

whose interaction all things have been evolved and which are in eternal operation. This is a philosophy of impermanence. The early Chinese thinkers were impressed by Nature and by the changes, often momentous, which were constantly occurring in Nature.

This dualism, known as the *Yang-Yin* theory, is the explanation of all things in the created universe. *Yang* is the heavenly, active, and aggressive principle. *Yin* is the earthly, passive, and receptive principle. The two principles might be conceived as male and female. In inanimate nature *yang* operates as the sun, light, heat, growth, etc., and *yin* as the moon, darkness, cold, decay, etc. In the moral realm, in each individual person, *yang* operates as good and *yin* as evil. Every person has two natures, which conflict in life and separate in death. In religion *yang* is God, the gods, and what is godly; *yin* is God's enemy, demons, and what is devilish. More specifically, the gods and godly forces are called *shen*, while demons and things devilish are *kuei* (pronounced as kway). The *kuei* at first were spiritual beings; at least they threw no shadow. A *kuei* was both good and bad, or it might be either good or bad. Chinese primitivism, however, made *kuei* altogether vengeful ghosts and evil spirits. The *shen* have been altogether good. In time Catholic missionaries in China called Christian angels *t'ien shen*, "divine messengers." The term has also been used for God.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP. As early as the reign of Shun (twenty-third century B.C.), Man was worshiped in the triad with Heaven and Earth. The worship of Man was the worship of one's own ancestors. There was thus combined the ancestor and the nature cults, with their three rituals and a usual form of sacrifice. This was true of the state religion, in particular. The common people worshiped indirectly. Sacrifices, under the state's direction, to the ancestral-natural Heaven and Earth—and to lesser nature powers—were made in the open upon uncovered altars. Ancestral spirits might be recognized during nature-worship. Heaven being everywhere could be worshiped any-

where under its vast expanse. Ancestor-worship as such, however, was performed in *miao*, or shrines. The temples mentioned in the oldest classics are dedicated to ancestors, especially imperial ones.

There was one national ancestral temple, that of the ruling dynasty, where the imperial spirits were worshiped. In addition, vassal princes and officials had their temples, where they worshiped their own ancestors. The common people had no temples, for their ancestors were all *kuei*. They had their household shrines. Ancestor-worship was for the ordinary family purely a domestic ritual. The Great Temple of the ruling house was a composite of several structures. During the Chou (pronounced *Jo*) dynasty (twelfth to third centuries, B.C.), there were seven. A "seven-shrined" Chou temple included the shrine of the "Great Ancestor" on the north and facing south, with a row of three shrines on either hand extending south. On the right, the west, and facing east were the shrines successively of Wen, the founder of the Chou dynasty; the great grandfather of the ruling king; and the father. On the left, the east, and facing west and parallel with the western row were the shrines of Wu, the son of Wen; the great-great-grandfather of the ruling king; and the grandfather. In these seven buildings reposed the spirits of the ruler's lineal ancestors (all, of course, were *shen*), each of which was represented not by an image but by a tablet (*shen chu*). At least at a time of worship the souls of the deceased were called to reside in their respective tablets. The ordinary family had its own commemorative tablets, but they were set up within the private home.

The soul and the distinction between soul and body is fundamental to Chinese religion. The earliest literary records indicate that man was composed of a compound, intelligent spirit which at death ascends "on high" and a compound body which then descends to earth, i.e., a material body and a knowing mind, or soul. The soul in life becomes the spirit after death. It was believed that when man sleeps his soul departs to come back voluntarily when

he wakes; that when he swoons, it has gone farther and must be helped back again; and at death it is permanently separated. But "no one knows the exact location of the spirits at any time. They may be here or they may be there; they may be near or far." Usually, it was thought, they lingered in indefinite proximity, retaining power to help or harm, to occupy and control inanimate objects, such as ancestral tablets or a dead body, to enter the bodies of living animals (a girl's soul in a rat), or to enter human bodies as disease. They had power to assume any shape and to act accordingly.

RITUAL. Sacrifices and prayers were offered to *all* the spirits. Public ceremonies at the Temple of Heaven were noteworthy in ancient China, although not until later times did they become extremely elaborate. The great annual sacrifice to Heaven was held in midsummer at the capital. An act of thanksgiving, it welcomed the arrival of the longest day. The sun on this occasion was the seat of Heaven's Spirit. It was the emperor's prerogative to offer this great sacrifice, as the religious head of the nation, reigning by Heaven's appointment (not otherwise by divine right, for China entertained no theory of imperial divinity). The sacrifice was offered in the open on ground swept for the purpose in the southern suburb. The offering burnt was at first a single bull calf (innocent of sex) which had been kept in a clean stall nearby for three months. The emperor, in ceremonial robes, rode to the place of worship in the plain carriage. Not the costliness of the sacrifice but the spirit of the worshipers was stressed. In time elaboration set in. Soon an ox, a sheep, and a pig were offered; in Chou times a horse, dogs, and hens were included. Along with Heaven the other powers upon which depended the welfare of the whole empire were worshiped. Not only was there the great sacrifice at the capital, but secondary sacrifices were offered by deputies throughout the land to all inferior deities.

At midwinter there was offered by the emperor in the northern suburb of his capital, and by princes and officials

elsewhere, the annual official sacrifice to Earth: to the four quarters of the sky; to the four mountains and the four rivers; to the spirits of the soil and the crops; to Shen-nung, the Father of Husbandry; and to the royal guardians of the door, the kitchen, the courtyard, the path, and the gate.

The worship of Heaven and Earth was performed *for* the people, not *by* them. It was state ceremonial. Private religion required merely the worship by each family of its own ancestors, save as each household had its guardian spirit of the door and its kitchen-god. Beyond this the worship of the commoners was confined to the attendance of their representatives at clan sacrifices to the spirits of the clan fields, and at village sacrifices to the local spirits of the soil. Officers of state performed the sacrifice.

Ancestor-worship was essentially private, except that Heaven was regarded not only as Supreme Ruler but also as Great Ancestor, and that the spirits of the deceased in the imperial line were included in the ritual of the great sacrifice. The rites performed in the ancestral temples differed only in scale and impressiveness. Sacrifices were offered at the four seasons of the year and at times such as the installation of a new tablet. On stated occasions sacrifice was made to all ancestors of a given line or household. Those taking part prepared themselves by fasting and purification. The offerings might be cereal, vegetable, animal, ardent spirits, or precious stones—something valuable, although sincerity was highly regarded. "The incense of good conduct was more agreeable than the most costly spices burnt in a censer." The sacrifice was a family feast, a communion. The fat of a victim was first burnt as fragrance, and music was played to induce the spirits of the dead to come and share the feast. The common people, having no ancestral halls, carried on their worship in their homes, in simpler and less costly manner but with the motives of the upper classes.

Both nature- and ancestor-worship were accompanied with prayer, music from flutes, drums, and stringed instruments, chanting, and a solemn dance. A favorite dance

showed the maneuvers of Wu's army the night before his victory over Shang. Four hymns of the ancient ritual are preserved in the *Shih Ching* (Book of Odes).⁴ Prayer was not for pardon, but to ask the spirits to "regard" the offering. There was in the sacrifice nothing expiatory, no indication of penitence or desire for the remission of sins. Its motive was rather the information of Heaven or the spirits to acknowledge relationship and dependence and to give thanks. If, on the other hand, the will of Heaven and the spirits was sought, it could be learned by divination, by drying ink in a tortoise shell (and reading the lines), or by casting lots. The sacrifice was performed with dignity and precision, for irregularity indicated lack of reverence and might produce disorders.

MORALITY. Ancient China had high ideals in morals, as the *Shu Ching*, *Book of History*, shows. According to this "honorable" classic, Heaven is moral, loves the people, is mercifully just, may be "moved with indignation" and "roused to anger," sends down happiness or misery according to the people's conduct, blesses the doer of good and sends calamities upon the evil-doer, and confers a moral sense upon the high and the low. A doctrine of original human goodness is displayed: "All things have their origin in Heaven, men have their origin in their ancestors"; "What Heaven bestows is called nature (*hsing*), what accords with nature is called the way (*tao*)," and if man follows the way he is in harmony with Heaven's nature; "People are born good, they are made bad by circumstances which cause them to follow their own desires." "The mind of man is prone to err, its affinity to what is right is scant"; humility exalts, but pride debases; "Being vain of one's ability is the way to lose the merit it might win"; "It is not the knowing but the doing that is difficult."

The ancient code enjoins men against excess in pleasure, "confusion" of the senses (as with drink), forsaking what is right to win men's praise, neglecting to align their purposes with reason, "officiousness in sacrifice," and denying the equality of others with themselves. It warns men that

"calamities sent by Heaven may be averted, but from those brought by men upon themselves there is no escape." The ruler—the code was meant primarily for him—is reminded that when he exercises virtue, good government is realized; when he does not, disorder comes. He is cautioned not to oppress, to be gentle but strict, and to promote harmony (*ch'eng*) by forbearance. The minister is reminded that he is to promote virtue in relation to his sovereign and seek the good of all the people. The cardinal virtue was *jen* (pronounced *ren*), an inward and spiritual love for all mankind, of which *i* (pronounced *ee*), what is right to do, is the outward and visible manifestation. Since to the Chinese, as someone has said, "religion is an extension of moral relations into the world of spirit," the emphasis upon *jen* seemed to meet their greatest need.

Woman's place in the ancient order provides a useful commentary on the moral code. From the first the Chinese have been polygamous, but the "wife," even in early times, held a higher place than concubines, or "wayside wives." In theory, the wife enjoyed equal honors with her husband. Her tablet, usually, was placed beside her husband's in the ancestral temple or on the family shelf. But practically her place was secondary. She was subject to divorce. She and her children were "like clothes": they could be replaced. "Rich men easily find wives" and more easily concubines. The Chinese have been no more sensual than other peoples, but woman's function has been biological and practical.

CEREMONY. Propriety, or ceremony (*li*), is an ancient and persistent element. Nowhere has it been more highly esteemed. It early came to command the attention and the talent of the national leaders, in particular, the scholars, who even before 1000 B.C. were the highest of the social classes. Twenty-five hundred years before the Christian era, there was a Minister of Ceremony, an authority on propriety. Propriety was the key to individual conduct. Every man knew his duties in relation to other men. It was the index of character, and the endurance of the nation was related to propriety and the exactness of ceremonial observ-

ance. One may understand neither the leaders nor the people who disregard the role of ceremony.

Do not suppose that *li* merely represents externalism, mere observance of rules of etiquette for various occasions. It represents an inner quality, expressing itself in outward conduct. "*Li* has a root and a flower." Its root is sincerity, reverence, and precision of speech; its flower is rites and ceremonies, harmonious social relationships, and good government. "Of all methods for the regulation of mankind the most important is *li*." The ideograph for *li* is a compound of three simple characters, meaning essentially, "grain over a vessel held up by two hands," that is, the two hands of the worshiper holding aloft before Heaven and for Heaven's "information" the sacrificial vessel filled with stalks of grain. *Li* must have meant originally the ritual of sacrifice, with the view of Heaven as the source of all. *Li* would thus properly become the symbol of the way of life and conduct for mankind, with the implication that since Heaven is moral, man's mind and conduct must be moral to accord with Heaven's will and way.

The major terms in any people's language, particularly in their vocabulary of religion, and the meanings which they carry furnish ready insight into the national character. In broad outline the religious mind of China has from the first operated upon such basic principles as these:

1. *T'ien*, Heaven, the over-arching sky, the Ultimate, the Source of nature, man, and morals.
2. *Tao*, or Way, the "way of Heaven" (*T'ien tao*), the "way of Earth" (*Ti tao*), the "way of benevolence" (*Jen tao*), etc.; perhaps, as a speculative principle, either the Ultimate itself or derived from a Primal Ultimate or from Chaos, thus being antecedent to Heaven; the source of the contending forces, *yang* and *yin*, which came from its spontaneous bifurcation and have operated both in nature and in morals.
3. *Ch'eng*, Harmony, conformity of man with *Tao* and *T'ien*, expressing itself inwardly in man as *jen*, and outwardly as *i* and *li*.

4. *Jen*, Love, Benevolence, the supreme virtue among moral values, ranging from good thought to universal love.
5. *Chung*, Fidelity, or Conscience, "fidelity to one's better self." Compare Shakespeare: "This above all: to thine own self be true, and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."
6. *Shu*, Consideration, due regard for other men, and actual forgiveness, when the need arises.
7. *Li*, Propriety, of which *hsiao*, or "filial piety," "reverence," is a chief expression.

These are not all. We shall view others with them, later, as we investigate the formal systems of thought and religion.

Two systems came directly out of the Sinæan era, the Confucianist (the *ju-chiao*) and the Taoist (*tao-chiao*). Both were in process of development during many centuries, each awaiting the coming of the great person who would unify whatever consistent tendencies he could find and favor in the best thought and conduct of the ages, would give them a coherent philosophy, and would stamp the issue with an enduring name. Two great persons came at last, within one century, Lao and K'ung (Lao-tze and K'ung-fu-tze). The latter transmitted in *concrete* terms the preponderant tendencies he discovered and sealed the vast bulk of national tradition with his name. The former specialized in an *exceptional* condition of the national mind and expounded it as worthy of universal sway. He made capital out of Chinese quietism and proposed passive, mystical accord with Heaven as the highest good. Confucius stressed the practical and proposed that human conduct regulate itself in active harmony with Heaven.

RELIGION TODAY IN CHINA. The present status of religion in Communist China is one of uncertainty. On the one hand, freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Common Principles of the People's Republic and on the other, the Communist party has reaffirmed its basic teaching that religion is the opiate of the people. Freedom of anti-religion as well as freedom of religion has been proclaimed.⁵ Each

of the existing faiths of China confronts a period of severe testing.

There are five formal religions, or "teachings," in China today:

1. *Ju-chiao*, or "Scholar-teaching," referring to Confucianism. The character *ju* means "learned, or a scholar." Confucius is known as the "head, or beginning," (*shou*) of the *ju-chiao*, which is known also as the "sacred teaching" (*sheng-chiao*).
2. *Tao-chiao*, or "Way-teaching," referring to Taoism. The character *tao* meant first a "road," but has acquired many other meanings. It enters today into terms for morality, moral philosophy, etc. "Taoism," in an exclusive sense, refers to the doctrine of the *tao*, supposed to have been formulated by Lao-tze (sixth century, B.C.).
3. *Fo-chiao*, or "Buddha-teaching," known also as the "Buddha-way" (*fo-tao*), the "Buddha-gate" (*fo-mên*), and the "Great-Vehicle-teaching" (*ta-ch'eng-chiao*). The character *fo* is composed of a symbol for "man" and a symbol for "not," suggesting things beyond human life, or as Chinese Buddhists say, the deeper understanding of oneself and the universe.
4. *Hui-hui-chiao*, or "Return-teaching," referring to Islam, or Muhammadanism. *Hui* (pronounced as hway) may refer to the common Muslim expression, "to thy Lord is the return of all," "unto him shall all return," e.g., Qur'ân, 96:8. ~~Or it may be the *hui* of "association."~~ Other titles for Islam in China are the "exclusive teaching" (*ko-chiao*) and the "pure, true teaching" (*ch'ing-chen-chiao*), the latter obviously its own designation.
5. *Ya-chiao*, or "Jesus-teaching," Christianity, known also as the "Christ-teaching" (*chi-tu-chiao*). Christians are called "teaching-people" (*chiao-min*).

Christianity first entered China in the seventh century A.D. with the Nestorians. Roman Catholicism has had a footing in China for more than three centuries. The Eastern Orthodox Church entered in 1685. Protestant missions began in 1807. Muslims first entered China in the seventh century. A recent estimate⁶ lists 50,000,000 Muslims in

China, 3,280,000 Roman Catholics, 700,000 Protestants, and others. Eastern Orthodox Christians are apparently included among the "others," but according to earlier estimates, their total is about 5,000.⁷

Chinese Christians and Muslims together constitute only a fraction of the total Chinese population. The *ju-fo-tao* combination, therefore, represents the bulk of the people. Of these three, Confucianism and Taoism are indigenous, while Buddhism has been so intimately identified with Chinese life that it was formerly commonly said, "If one wishes to understand China, one must see China in the light of Buddhism."⁸ It is useless to assign percentages of the population to these actually noncompetitive faiths. In general culture China has been without doubt Confucian, but Buddhist in religion. Most Chinese, exclusive of the Muslims and the Christians, have professed and practiced the *san-chiao*, or "three religions," that is, the *ju-fo-tao*. The average Chinese may be Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist—and an "animist," as well—without much sense of inconsistency. An ancient proverb says that "the three religions are all one." In later chapters we shall attempt to assess the impact of communism upon these ancient ways of life. Will the "People's Republic" attempt to displace religion with the philosophy of dialectical materialism? Will Marxism be offered the Chinese as a new state religion? It is likely that the attempt will be made, but a study of Chinese history throws doubt upon its success.⁹

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Chapter 4

CONFUCIANISM

THE *JU CHIAO*: CONFUCIUS AND HIS SCHOOL

CONFUCIANISM TODAY. In 1948-49 a Chinese-American professor¹ made a visit to China on a Guggenheim Fellowship to study trends in Chinese religious life over the past half century. Travel conditions were difficult, since the Communists had by that time taken over half of the country, but he had opportunity to use libraries, consult Chinese scholars, and visit temples. In a section with the heading "The Downfall of Confucianism," Dr. Chan describes what he saw on a trip between Chungking and Chengtu.

Confucian temples in the different counties are no longer used to honor the sage . . . I found one temple used as a barracks, one used partly as a dormitory for civil servants and partly as a hospital, one used as a garbage dump, and one in complete ruin. On the religious side, only ancestor-worship continues, chiefly in the rural areas. Even here, signs of decline are obvious and definite . . . It appears, then, that the downfall of Confucianism has been complete. There is neither a Confucian organization nor a Confucian periodical. Save for the national holiday in his honor, there was nothing in 1949 to remind the Chinese people of the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of Confucius' birth. That anniversary was observed in silence.²

The Communist government of China has since abolished the national holiday for Confucius. It may well seem that the downfall of Confucius is complete. Yet it should be observed that what has been destroyed thus far is institutional Confucianism, something to which Confucius himself would never have given approval in the first place. The real strength of Confucianism has been its influence upon the social and intellectual life of the Chinese. Confucianism as social custom, the ethical principles regulating human life down to the minutest details, is still deeply

rooted in Chinese life. Certain features of it, such as the family ethic, are today under challenge by the Communist regime. The issue was squarely joined by passage of the Marriage Law (May 1, 1950), one of the chief purposes of which was to get women out of the home and into production and defense work. The kind of equality for women which has been achieved may be illustrated from the following report of the April 17, 1953, meeting of the All China Women's Congress:

Living proof of what Chinese women can do in all phases of national construction was provided by a roster of 14 speakers at today's plenary session . . . 23-year-old Sun Hsiao-chu, China's first woman railway traffic controller, held the audience in great attention as she told how she started her work on the railways as a coupler and later became a model dispatcher. Ridicule by her male colleagues was not the only obstacle in her way—even her mother was against her working as a coupler. This tall lively young woman told the audience, "To be a coupler, you must be able to catch up to and jump down from running engines which at their slowest run as fast as the cars on Peking streets. But I learned to do it." And she became a model coupler. . . .³

There has been much talk in the West about "brain-washings" administered to prisoners of the Chinese. These are relatively insignificant, however, compared with the brain-washing which has been given to the Chinese people as a whole by the Communist regime in the effort to wean them away from old ways in general and the family-centered system in particular. What this involves for children is well illustrated in a report made by Raja Hutheesing, Nehru's brother-in-law, as a result of a visit to China as part of an Indian cultural delegation:

. . . New China is dogmatic, harsh and cruel.

I saw this cruelty in the nursery school at Shanghai run by Mme. Sun Yat-sen. There were more than two hundred children between the ages of three to seven . . . The children put on a show for the guests. In the show, they marched as the People's Liberation Army, their toy guns pointed at "American" planes above. They learned to hate and kill. . . . There was no love for parents or family, and these little children sorely missed it. They clung to the visitors and wanted to be fondled and kissed. Some had tears in their eyes as they were picked up and patted. I knew then what cruelty meant.⁴

The most direct attack upon the family ethic has been made by Chinese Communist leadership in the encouragement, even requirement, that youth inform security police about suspicious actions and attitudes of parents. The fact that a special drive had to be inaugurated in 1957 to renew this campaign to turn children against parents indicates the strength of the resistance to this Communist aim.⁵

The Ideological Remolding Movement, begun in September, 1951, marked the opening of the attack upon Chinese intellectuals. On this occasion Chou En-Lai delivered a five-hour lecture, urging Peking intellectuals to review their thinking and providing an example by criticizing himself in their presence. Within a month the Peking-Tientsin area was organized into small discussion groups of intellectual leaders who periodically criticized themselves and others. The movement rapidly spread over the whole country. In December, 1951, attention was turned to the "poisonous influence" of Dr. Hu Shih, and at a symposium held on December 2, many of the most eminent thinkers of China and former friends of Hu Shih denounced him and his thought. A later phase of the Ideological Remolding Movement was a demand for recantations and confessions even from the most outstanding leaders of thought. Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, Dean of the College of Law at Peking National University under the current regime, "confessed" his own sins and gave the following description of the "decadence" of higher education prior to the Communist seizure of power.

The undesirable ideology and style of work of the old intellectuals was also exhibited in the part I played in the administration of Peita (Peking National University). . . .

Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei (a great liberal scholar) should be held only partly responsible for Peita's laxity and liberalism, while the greater part of this responsibility should be put to the account of the senior teaching staff, including myself, who managed to retain for a long time in Peita the pedagogical philosophy of "freedom of thought" and "freedom of study" of Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei.⁶

The attack on Chinese intellectuals has involved denunciations of these men by their own sons and daughters.

The son of Dr. Hu Shih denounced his famous father. The daughter of the president of one of the great Christian colleges of China made the following statement, which resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of her father:

In the past I recognized you as a clear and well-educated teacher, who was wise and able. I had looked upon you as the model, feeling that your education was good and your political understanding far above mine. Because I looked upon you as an honored example—you had an influence upon me. . . . I wakened to see that you were not my respected father. I had looked upon you as an educator, pure and above politics, but you truly are a Christian who is without political feeling for the Communist Party. . . . The fact that I have been unstable in my political standing is because I have always sought your viewpoint. I have been affected by the father-daughter relationship. . . . I want to stand with the great masses to fight for the Communist principles.

I have discovered that under the Communists whoever has a respect for American thinking cannot be tolerated. Your type of "claws and teeth," you Lu Chih Wei, why should I not feel like the Volunteer—determined to fight you and not to protect and to plead for you, believing your devilish talk. Do you think that your false tears are able to bribe my conscience? ⁷

Whether Confucius and Confucianism will survive the Communist crisis remains to be seen. In modern times, however, the varying fortunes of Confucianism may be described in terms of the swinging of a pendulum. From a position of neglect, although it was the state religion, it swung into new prestige toward the close of the last century. The Christians had been declaring their faith to be the only true religion, thus placing the "three teachings" ⁸ (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) in the category of false religions. During the 1880 decade the aroused Chinese made numerous attacks upon Christian missionaries and institutions. An alarming situation developed. The Confucianists, especially, were incensed. Through reaction against Christianity, Confucius, who had ranked eight hundred years as "Emperor," was elevated on December 31, 1906, by Imperial Rescript, to equal rank with Heaven. Thus was restored the triad (Heaven-Earth-Man) which had been worshiped four thousand years before, save that

at last there was in it a concrete Man. In spite of the Revolution of 1911, by which the Chinese "Republic" (1911-27) was inaugurated, and notwithstanding the fact that the *Classics* were eliminated as a required subject in government elementary and primary schools, Confucianism was continued as the state religion. In 1914 Yuan Shih-k'ai decreed the resumption of sacrifice to heaven and to Confucius, even though this had been abolished when the Republic had been established in 1912. It was obviously Yuan Shih-k'ai's ambition to make himself emperor, and after his death in 1916 nothing further was heard of the effort to make Confucianism a state religion. One of Yuan Shih-k'ai's first acts as president had been to try to revive the sacrifice to Confucius in the schools. Although this failed, sacrifice was restored in the Temple of Confucius, continuing until its cessation was ordered by the Nationalist government in 1928. It is true that a year later a day was again set for these annual ceremonies, but few people paid any attention to the sacrifice.⁹

In the course of the conflict over a state religion, the prestige of Confucianism declined perilously in the public esteem. Not only Buddhists, Taoists, Christians, and Muslims had opposed the restoration of Confucianism as a state religion, but even Confucianist scholars such as Chang T'ai-yen, who had introduced the study of ancient non-Confucian and anti-Confucian philosophies. Another opponent was Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, a prominent Chinese intellectual leader to whom Confucianism was not even a religion. A thoroughgoing campaign was waged against Confucianism in the columns of *La Jeunesse* under the leadership of the youthful Chen Tu-hsiu and his associates. To these young intellectual rebels, the majority of them the product of Western education, many of the Confucian theories seemed outmoded. Indeed, they opposed not only all religions but religion itself as deserving no consideration from earnest, practical people. However, these youthful radicals did not enjoy the confidence of governmental leaders in whose hands the decision rested. The attempt to make a

state religion of Confucianism was a failure. It was even debated if it was right to give Confucianism the status of a religion.¹⁰

In a chapter of his book devoted to "The Religion of the Intellectual,"¹¹ Dr. Chan divides the last three decades of Chinese intellectual life into three periods: (1) 1917-27, a period of debates; (2) 1927-47, a period of affirmation; and (3) 1947 on, a period of uncertainty. It should be remembered that the first period coincided with the beginnings of the Chinese renaissance and was characterized by a natural reaction against earlier repression and convention. It is significant, however, that after 1927 a more positive attitude toward Confucianism and religion in general developed among Chinese intellectuals. The period after 1927 was one of a new hopefulness in Chinese life, economically and politically as well as intellectually. China was beginning to develop political unity. Unequal treaties binding China to a semicolonial status were being withdrawn. The New Life Movement had a widespread influence in the years 1934-36, and the basic principles of this movement were Confucian, although the leadership was Christian. It was a period of cultural and religious revival, with a new interest in history, in the nature of culture, in philosophy and religion. To be sure, it was in this decade that Dr. Hu Shih, one of the coleaders of the Chinese Renaissance, declared that "practically all prominent leaders of thought in China are openly agnostics and even atheists. . . . The educated people in China are indifferent to religion and . . . the whole intellectual tendency there is not favorable to any religious movement or revival."¹² Dr. Chan offers the following explanation of this apparent contradiction:

Undoubtedly he was thinking of religion as a system of superstitions and dogmas or the belief in Creation. But so far as religion on a higher level is concerned, in view of the increasingly better understanding of religion, the growing insistence upon religion as an essential component of culture, and the rise of new intellectual systems, notably New Buddhist Idealism, New Neo-Confucian Rationalism,

and New Neo-Confucian Idealism, all of which culminate in the identification of man and Heaven, it is safe to say that the antireligious forces among Chinese intellectuals have been weakening and that religion is being affirmed.¹³

In the course of this period of affirmation, including a revival of interest in religion, there was a reappraisal of Confucius and his role in Chinese life. For one thing, Confucius' self-estimate, "I transmit but do not create," long taken literally, was re-examined. Dr. Hu Shih was one of the scholars to take part in this discussion and came to the conclusion, in which others agreed, that Confucius "revived an old tradition, injected into it some new blood, and raised it to new heights."¹⁴ Accompanying this recognition of a greater originality on Confucius' part than had formerly been attributed to him was an awareness of a genuinely religious attitude of Confucius toward the Way of Heaven. This viewpoint was expressed by Professor Fu Ssu-nien in a book published in the forties:

He [Confucius] still looked upon Heaven with great reverence, for, to him, the Way of Heaven was the foundation of rites, and governmental measures were the application of those rites. But he did not talk much about the Way of Heaven, because there was always an element of uncertainty in its operation and because he chose to lay increasing emphasis on human affairs. In short, the major premise of Confucian ethics was still the Way of Heaven, but there was a growing attention to man.¹⁵

The entire period, down to the middle of the twentieth century, witnessed a veritable Confucian renaissance among leading Chinese thinkers.

It was the Communist conquest of China and the establishment of the People's Republic which introduced the third period, the period of uncertainty (1947—). One of the leaders of the Confucian renaissance was Fung Yu-Lan, who adopted Marxism-Leninism and repudiated his championship of Confucian philosophy. In his recantation, he said in part:

Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung as well as practices in the various aspects of the new society have changed my thought, turning me from reaction to revolution, from service to in-

dividuals to service to the masses, from abstract things to concrete things, from illusions to realities . . . I now come to understand that I should make an entirely new start in my study before I can make myself a philosophical worker in the new society. Formerly when I heard some people saying that they wanted to be the pupils of Chairman Mao, it seemed an exaggeration to me. But now I feel that I am even disqualified to be a pupil of Chairman Mao, and that I have to strive hard to be one.

The translation of Fung Yu-Lan's confession, including the above-quoted passage, appeared in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong, December 18, 1952. The editors added: "This is so far the finest essay that has been published on the art of turning oneself inside out."¹⁶

The immediate future of Confucianism is, indeed, uncertain. It is not even clear yet what Communist party policy will be regarding Confucius. Party members have been told by Mao Tse-tung on one occasion that they should learn from Confucius and Sun Yat-sen as well as from Marx and Lenin. On the other hand, the new government has abolished the national holiday for Confucius. This is another crisis for Confucianism. "However," as Dr. Chan remarks, "this is not the first; Confucianism has gone through one crisis after another in the last fifty years. What is the situation after all these storms had passed? Much of Confucianism died, but much of it is and will be alive."¹⁷

OBJECTIONS. The major objections lodged by various Chinese against Confucianism are that:

1. It is old, of the ancient past, and is therefore presumably no longer valid. A communist criticism of twentieth century Confucian philosophy is that it is comparable to medieval medicine, whereas Marxism-Leninism is to be compared with modern medicine;
2. It is feudal and not democratic; at least, it recognizes social classes, with the intelligentsia outranking others and with workers with their hands lowest of all;
3. It is not scientific, whether in psychology, politics, or economics;
4. It is suppressive in its conservatism, veritably Victorian in its stress upon honor for one's parents, elders, and what is of the past;

5. It is negligent and disdainful of women, children, and slaves, withholding from them a just equality of rights with freemen;
6. It is pacifistic in the extreme, making no provision for the use of force even as a means to peace and government;
7. It is primitive in its religious aspects, tolerating sheer superstition in both belief and ritual;
8. It is palpably limited in those positive aspects which at first glance seem valuable, for example, its advocacy of knowledge—knowledge which proves to be something for its own sake.

Many of these objections can be sustained, but others should be questioned. Is Confucianism absolutely pacifistic, for example? Mencius, the great pupil of Confucius, provided for revolution against unjust rule. Is not the real objection of the critics that Confucianism insists upon government for the good of the people and not for any party? We understand, also, the modern spirit which abolished the old classical examinations as a means of political preferment. The system seemed based upon learning for learning's sake or, at most, provided knowledge of slight use for government. The memorization of the *Classics* for examination was irrefutable evidence of the theory of knowledge for its own sake. The old examination stalls could no more stand before the presence of modern Western educational method than the Great Cathedral of Moscow of Alexander I could stand before the Soviet theory of religion.

We might grant the force of other objections, for example, that Confucianism has kept womanhood in unwonted subjection and that Confucian morality is embarrassed by association with crude forms of religion. We should be overhasty, however, were we to grant the cogency of all the objections which we have noticed, without examining patiently the essential meaning of the forms assailed. We might find ourselves denying not only Confucianism but wider reaches of morality and religion. We are not prepared to do so without closer study. We look, therefore,

for whatever permanent and recreative power there is among the many elements we must examine.

THE WRITINGS—THE CONFUCIAN *Classics* (FIVE *Ching* AND FOUR *Shu*.) It is inconceivable that a self-respecting people would destroy its precious source books and greatest literary treasures. Sacred books have proved more durable than nations themselves. While a nation lives, its sacred books endure; when it perishes, the world preserves its literary monument. A people may be indifferent to their sacred writings, but in preserving them, they cherish, even though unwittingly, opportunities for men to reconsider the sources and to recommit themselves to the old ideals. The Chinese are not disposed to destroy their sacred *Classics*. They have pride in them as evidence of early Chinese culture, a national monument. Once indeed there was an attempt to destroy them. The first Emperor, Shih Huang-ti, who constructed the Great Wall, built a new capital city, and sought to consolidate an empire. Finding his political reforms blocked by the scholars, he ordered (213 B.C.) the destruction of the *Book of History* (*Shu Ching*) and the *Book of Odes* (*Shih Ching*), whose authority was quoted against reform. He decreed capital punishment of all persons who quoted them. His purpose was not fulfilled though copies were burned and several hundred scholars put to death. The books were in the minds of multitudes left alive. As if in answer to the futile effort, a later emperor, in 195 B.C., visited the tomb of the Sage and offered a sacrifice, thus beginning the national cult of the worship of Confucius. The *Classics* returned to favor. They have survived imperial wrath, historical criticism, rationalistic philosophy, popular neglect, and attacks from followers of other faiths.

There are nine of these sacred writings, according to the canonization begun in the time of Confucius. The number has been fixed since A.D. 1000. They are in two sets, one of five, and one of four, and cover a period of time from *ca.* 2000 B.C. to the second century A.D. It is apparent that they are Confucian in only an indirect sense.

The "Five" (*Wu Ching*):

1. The *Book of History* (*Shu Ching*), believed to belong to the period from 2000 to 700 B.C. This book is a collection of state papers, memoranda of the speeches of early rulers, and records of conversations between rulers and their ministers. Confucius used *shu* to designate all the "historical" remains of antiquity, in distinction from poems, descriptions of rites, and works on divination, medicine, agriculture, and horticulture. An English translation extends to about two hundred and fifty octavo pages.
2. The *Book of Poetry*, or *Odes* (*Shih Ching*), consisting of three hundred and five pieces and the titles of six others. Five "sacrificial odes of Shang" are very ancient, and may be dated about 1800 B.C. There are eleven sacrificial odes of the early Chou dynasty. The rest, odes of various sorts, songs and ballads not of a religious character, may be dated within the Chou dynasty as late as *ca.* 600 B.C. The whole is equivalent to about one hundred octavo pages in English.
3. The *Book of Changes* (*I Ching*, or *Yi Ching*), containing a fanciful system of philosophy deduced from the combinations of the eight Diagrams, each representing a power of nature, such as water, fire, thunder, virtually a book of divination. It is said that Confucius studied the Book of Changes so persistently that the leather strap around the bamboo slips broke three times. The Diagrams are said to have been invented before 2000 B.C. by Fu Hsi, who copied the lines from the back of a tortoise. The Book based upon the Diagrams is of uncertain date, but it is pre-Confucian. It is of about the size of the *Shih Ching*.
4. The *Book of Rites* (*Li Chi*), consisting of things to be "remembered" and done precisely at ceremonies, with rules for individual conduct on various occasions. The bulk of its contents dates from before the time of Confucius, although the work took final form in the second century A.D. It is eight times the size of the *Shih Ching*.
5. *Spring and Autumn* (*Ch'un Ch'iu*), or the *Annals of Lu*. Lu was the native state of Confucius. The book contains the history of the state from 722 to 481 B.C. Confucius himself probably wrote the narrative portions, but a disciple probably wrote the commentary.

The "Four" (*Ssu Shu*, altogether about two hundred octavo pages):

1. The *Analects* of Confucius (the *Lun-Yü*, or "Discourses"), a collection of sayings of the Sage and of conversations between him and his disciples. This is the chief source book for descriptive details of the habits and qualities of Confucius. In its present form it represents the collation of several early editions.
2. The *Great Learning* (*Ta Hsieh*), a small work once a chapter of the *Li Chi*. It contains some sayings of Confucius, and some commentary. It seems to have been intended for the guidance of a ruler; it is politico-moral philosophy: "to illustrate illustrious virtue, to renovate the people, and to rest in the highest excellence."
3. The *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chung Yung* or the *Conduct of Life*) a small work, larger than the *Great Learning*, once a part of the *Li Chi*; the contents, including sayings of Confucius, are attributed to his grandson. The work treats of the human mind as it is in itself, and of its proper expression in accordance with its correct, Heaven-bestowed nature.
4. The *Book of Mencius*, the work of the greatest of the successors of Confucius, who died 289 B.C. He commented upon the proper qualities of the righteous ruler, laid down the essentials of a rightly governed state, and entered into controversy with prominent philosophers holding contrary or divergent views of human nature, duty, and government.

These, then, are the *Nine Classics* which bear in some form or other the stamp of Confucius. They are the most important of the vast literature of China.

THE LIFE OF CONFUCIUS. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was born in the petty state of Lu, in the fruitful Shantung section. At that time China was comparatively small, and barbarians encroached upon its borders; it consisted of many loosely related states in the eastern basin of the Yellow River; there was no semblance of an empire until the third century B.C. The boy's father, a conspicuous military leader, was very old, but strong and brave. His mother was

very young, a second wife whom the old soldier had married for the sake of a son to carry on the family name and to worship the ancestral spirits. When the lad was three years of age his father died. He was reared, therefore, by his mother, who lived until he was twenty-two, or twenty-four, years old. She had a very religious nature, and the son also seems to have been grave and reverent. As a boy he liked to play at ritual instead of at such games as were then common. He was humane and especially fond of dogs and horses. Once, for a dead dog of his, he dug a grave and provided a shroud of silk lest the ground pollute the body. He was accustomed to fish with a line and never a net, and he shot at birds only on the wing. He was fond of asking questions and had a retentive memory. He was honest, earnest, and dependable.¹⁸

His education was begun with a local magistrate. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he had mastered what his teacher had to offer and had developed a decided bent toward learning. He was a learner all his life and looked on all men as his teachers. At the age of seventeen he was forced by poverty in his home to take a post in his native state as clerk of revenue. At nineteen he married a bride selected by his mother for him from a family in the neighboring state of Sung. He had one daughter, and a son named Li. He was advanced in public office, being placed in charge of the Lu state granaries—a position with authority similar to that which the Hebrew Joseph had in Egypt.

Sometime between Confucius' twenty-second and his twenty-seventh year, while still a state official, he opened his home to pupils and became a teacher. For about a decade he had many pupils who, in spite of the rigor of his requirements and the severity of his methods, seem to have been quite devoted to him. He never refused admission to a pupil even though the proffered fee was merely a bundle of dried fish. He allowed all pupils to remain who were eager for learning and for the development of their mental powers. He gave instruction in history, social pro-

priety, literature, science, music, and government, or in his own words, in "letters," "ethics," "devotion of soul," and "truthfulness."

At thirty-five Confucius gave up his work for the state to devote the next fifteen years to education and research. He probably gave up his family also; at least he separated from his wife for the sake of his studies. During this period ancient music and its composers constituted a major line of study. At fifty—when, as he says, he "knew the decrees of Heaven"—he took public office once again in his own state of Lu. There is some indication that he may have been challenged to put his political and moral theories into practice. If not for this reason, he may have sought office to test his views. At any rate, his interest was always in living issues, and whatever he advocated has a bearing upon real life. He was successively assistant-superintendent of public works and chief justice of the state. Remarkable things are said (by his partisans) to have been achieved by his administration, such as the utter security of private property. Nevertheless, his administration finally came to grief. Some say that his success had aroused the enmity of neighboring states and that at least one of them (the state of Ts'e) took measures to undermine its influence. Or perhaps the failure was due to the ineffectiveness of some major theory or to the inability of the man as a practical administrator. One of his theories was that the chief business of the state is not revenue but the proper "functioning"¹⁹ of all the citizens, a theory which may have been slightly idealistic. There was, indeed, some lack of proper functioning, for internal discord arose, and after four or five years in office, Confucius found himself an exile from Lu. He went to a neighboring state, where he asked for a trial of his program, promising complete reform in three years. Given a year's trial as he requested, his program seems to have been even less successful than in Lu, and his official connection with this state was broken. He became a wanderer for a dozen years, preaching rather than practicing reform.

It may have been asking too much of any program that it prove itself effective in a generation so marked by political confusion and low ideals.

In spite of adversity, however, Confucius never lost his supreme confidence—in himself as Heaven's agent, in the power of good government to produce order in society and the reformation of human nature itself. At the age of sixty-eight he was recalled to his native state, there to spend his remaining four years and to complete editing five of the nine *Classics* (the five in the list above). The wise man "withered away like a plant." He died in great discouragement, not on his own account, but with regret that no ruler had taken him as his master. He died without fear, and his confidence was justified by succeeding centuries. The details of his career are difficult to establish precisely—there are contradictions and discrepancies in the records—but we have before us the gist of the story and have no need to depend upon exact details beyond those given incidentally in the records. The final place of any great man in history may properly depend, at last, upon the vividness of imagination and the power of will of the men who come after him. The past, if it have enduring qualities, inevitably gets a wealth of meaning from the centuries succeeding, including always the living present.

Confucius gave his attention to the actual situation in which he found himself. The political confusion of the times gave him a dominating interest in this life rather than the next (on the other hand, it made his contemporary, Lao-tze, other-worldly). In his day luxury and debauchery were rife and the nobles stronger than the emperor. With a primary concern for practical living, he sought harmony among the petty states and their unification into a harmonious empire. He sought what Justinian, Muhammad, and Akbar later sought, namely, unity of empire; but unlike them, he lacked the necessary political authority and force. He was, as a legendary "prophecy" had it at his birth, only "a throneless king."

In place of political authority, conquest of arms, and legislation, he offered a philosophy of government and life, a system of politics and ethics. He formulated an ethical code for men and rulers alike. Human conduct was his primary concern. He included a touch of religion but not as a separate consideration. Religion to Confucius was scarcely other than "moral law reduced to a system."²⁰ Religious objects were included on prudential grounds and viewed indirectly through the living present. Confucius had a profound belief in an all-pervasive and all-controlling moral law, which was at once "the ordinance of Heaven" and "the law of our being." This moral law was not so much of a separate, divine origin, as in man by reason of human nature's heavenly origin; it was an element within man's own original consciousness, which human experience might verify. Such was the philosophy by which men were to live, whereby the confusion of the times might be resolved into complete order.

At the death of Confucius, his disciples, who had never lost faith in him, mourned for him the customary three years. Mencius records that one of them remained six years at the grave.²¹ In due time they and new disciples set about the preservation of his works and exaltation of his name. His sayings were collected in the *Analects*, and commentaries were written on his doctrines (the *Great Learning*, the *Mean*, and *Mencius*). No doctrine of divine verbal inspiration of scripture was evolved by this Confucian "school"; the books made their way to pre-eminence on other grounds. The process of "canonization," as we have said, was slow. The admission of the *Book of Mencius* was long delayed; but ultimately the "four" books took their place beside the "five" which the Sage himself had edited.

In spite of indications that Confucius had a humble (or self-deprecatory) estimate of himself, his followers thought him extraordinary. He claimed to be only a learner, a "transmitter, not an author" or creative thinker.²² His confidence was in his mission. He acknowledged certain per-

sonal deficiencies, such as inability to put wisdom into practice, to alter evil, to do his duty fully toward his elders and the dead, and to shun excess in wine. He said he "had not reached the level of the ideal man." In the *Chung Yung* is a record that he denied intention of so acting as "to be mentioned with honor in future ages."²³ While he remarked that "wealth and honor obtained unworthily are as a fleeting cloud" and that a "noble man is pained over his own incompetency, but not pained that others ignore him," he held that if virtue is the root of man's conduct, wealth and fame are among the fruits.

His followers esteemed Confucius because "he had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism."²⁴ They deemed him far above the appreciation of ordinary men: "The wall of the Master is several fathoms high. . . . They are few who find the door."²⁵ "Our Master cannot be attained to," any more than the heavens can be climbed.²⁶ They thought if he had been a *ruler*, he would have established the people, won their loyalty, and made them happy and harmonious. The *Chung Yung* ascribes to Confucius certain qualities ascribed in the *Li Chi* to the Ideal Man, and the Master thereby becomes endued with far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge; a generous, mild, energetic, enduring, self-adjusted, correct individual, the "equal of Heaven." To Mencius, he was a full-rounded combination of strength and wisdom, and a model of propriety. "There never was another Confucius."²⁷ Later centuries further honored him, first as "emperor" and last as virtually divine. As early as 195 B.C. (Han dynasty) he was officially worshiped. The distinguished social reformer would have been amazed and perhaps reproachful at the sacrificial ceremonies attending his commemoration, but he might have agreed in principle with the intention to honor him as a sage and moralist.

CONFUCIAN MORALITY. From among a number of philosophies, concerning which he kept silent, Confucius "looking to antiquity" formulated his own system of prac-

tical morality and polity, which became in time the classic standard of the state. The Han dynasty (206 B.C.—A.D. 221) declared the *Ju-chiao* to be the sole permissible doctrine and the embodiment of the national view of man and the world. By its adoption as virtually the state religion, it doubtless suffered some depreciation as a moral code; yet China has had no other system of morality.

Confucian morality is characterized by a keen sense of *duty* in accord with the *law* of man's nature. "He upon whom a moral duty (*jen*) devolves, should not give way" to anyone, for duty is "a personal affair requiring personal performance." In the *Chung Yung* it is declared that if we would fulfill the law of our being, we must follow the moral law; that it is a law whose operation we cannot escape; that our moral being is the great reality of existence and moral order is the universal law of the world; and that when true moral being and moral order are realized the multiplicity of things becomes a cosmos and all parts attain their full growth and development. Confucianism recognized the moral obligation as the fundamental basis of the social order, and makes the perfection of moral conduct its greatest, if not its only, aim. This purpose gives to the system a high degree of durability. It is fundamental to Confucian theory that man by nature is good, that through obedience to the moral law man maintains his natural goodness, and that by concentric waves of influence, men effect through self-development the control and welfare of the family, the community, and the state (*Great Learning*, especially paragraphs 7-10). In this view the moral law issues first in "the cultivation of the person."

VIRTUES. The Confucian symbol for the moral law is the pre-Confucian *jen*. The ideograph represents a man from whom extend horizontally two parallel lines: he is "on the level." If the *Analects* alone were drawn upon, this might be a just composite view of *jen*, or "virtue." *Jen* is perfect virtue, love for all men, the very foundation of the unselfish life, the quality which a man of honor never disregards. It is accessible, personal, more than skill at one's

tasks, or mere loyalty, or success. One who loves virtue esteems nothing above it, and whoever has it finds in it strength sufficient for the day's work. He is cautious and slow of speech, avoiding artful words and an ingratiating manner. One may rest in virtue, free of anxiety; while without virtue, he is soon crushed by adversity. One who has his mind on virtue does no evil; he does not do to others what he would not have them do to him. *Jen* is the sum of all good qualities, for example, gravity of demeanor, earnestness, firmness, kindness, magnanimity, dependability, modesty, simplicity, and sincerity. *Jen* should be exercised in humility, with caution and prudence; yet there are occasions when life itself is better sacrificed than virtue. It was possibly sly humor when Confucius said he had never seen a man die in virtue's path.²⁸ Several sayings directly indicate how hard the Sage deemed it to be virtuous: he mentioned a disciple who could obey virtue three months at a time and yet commended anyone who could be perfect for a single day. Yet virtue in the Confucian view is something which a man has and exercises naturally (that is, through *teh*, "moral excellence," shown spontaneously, without one's being able to restrain it). One saying bears upon religion, indicating that a virtuous man is worshipful: "A man who is not virtuous, what has he to do with worship . . . and with temple music?"²⁹

Jen, as the sum of all the virtues, includes in formal analysis *jen-i*, "benevolent justice," *jen-chih*, "benevolent understanding," *jen-hsin*, "benevolent heart," etc. It includes:

1. *I*, that which is right to do, duty toward one's neighbor, loyalty to rulers and the state, faithfulness to one's family, and justice to mankind. *I* is the outward manifestation of *jen*. It represents the standard of right, which to see and not do is cowardice. One on the side of *I* "has neither predilections nor prejudices." Knowledge of *I* is a quality of the wise man, one of the four characteristics of "the Ideal Man," and a prerequisite to general esteem. Its possession by a ruler insures the submission of the people.

"The noble man takes the right (*I*) as his foundation principle, reduces it to practice with all courtesy, carries it out with modesty, and renders it perfect with sincerity."³⁰ *I* is of more worth than courage, for courage without *I* brings rebellion on the part of men of the superior class, and makes men of the lower order robbers. *I* requires service to one's fellows, the acceptance of public office, and the doing of what one's station demands of him, although he may be "aware that right principles have ceased to make progress."³¹ The first thought of a servant of the state in the presence of personal gain should be prompted by *I*, "whether it be right."

2. *Chih*, knowledge, perception, understanding, experience, wisdom, and insight. *Chih* is, in particular, knowledge of men. Of himself Confucius said, "I will not grieve that men do not know me; I will grieve that I do not know men."³² At fifty he claimed to have knowledge of the laws of Heaven. The acquisition and exercise of *chih* affords pleasure—this is the first saying of Confucius recorded in the *Analects*. This is true knowledge: "when you know a thing to recognize that you know it, and, when you do not know, to know that you do not."³³ It amounts to wisdom when one takes account of his surroundings. It is wisdom to "devote oneself earnestly to one's duty to humanity, and while respecting the spirits (the *kuei-shen*), to avoid them."³⁴ Those who possess *chih* are free from doubt, as the brave are from fear. The man of *chih* is willing to impart his wisdom to those who can profit by it and to deny it to those who cannot be enlightened, for possession of it gives him an obligation to teach it. *Chih* without moral character is of no permanence or value. *Chih* gained in study is better than mere speculation, for "love of knowledge without a love to learn finds itself obscured by loose speculation."³⁵

3. *Hsin* (pronounced shin), confidence, fidelity, reliability, belief, sincerity, truth, especially in speech. The character *hsin* is composed of one for "man" and one for "word"—man and his word. He uses no second or double word.

Confucius had much to say about *hsin*. He insisted that a scholar must have it and examined himself daily to see if he had exercised it in his intercourse with friends. *Hsin* is indispensable for all, as necessary as the yoke-bar to the ox-cart and the horse-collar to the carriage. In government it goes with attention to business, economy in expenditure, love of the people, and their employment on public works at the proper seasons. Consistent with his optimistic view of human nature, he deemed it a fairly common quality of men. He had confidence that "the man of unwavering sincerity and love of moral discipline, will keep to the death his excellent principles";³⁶ that *hsin* as a ruling principle of life will beget sincerity in others; and that with *hsin* one might get on even with "barbarians." *Hsin* will make perfect what is right, i.e., *I*, but has no value as mere affirmation. Steadfastness is its sign, as development is in itself evidence of virtue. The *Chung Yung* says of *Ch'eng* (-*hsin*): "It is the way of Heaven, is man's objective; who has it, hits the right mark without effort and apprehends intuitively. . . . Who attains to it chooses what is good and holds it fast."³⁷ *Ch'eng* is that by which self-completion is accomplished, "a most excellent thing." *Ch'eng* never fails. Whoever has it may expect to "assist the powers of Heaven and Earth and make himself a third with them."³⁸

4. *Li* bulks large in the *Nine Classics*, especially the *Li Chi* and the *Analects*. "The observances of *li*" was one of the three subjects, with history and the odes, on which Confucius "frequently discoursed." He intimated that a man could have "no standing" unless he studies the *Li Chi*.

Li has a wide variety of meaning: politeness, propriety, ceremony, reverence, ritual temper, worship—not merely outward form but inner character. *Li* is properly an expression of inner *jen*; it is *i* (duty) done with *chih* (insight) and *hsin* (sincerity). Both the symbol and the quality are ancient. In Sinæan times it had, perhaps, a more religious connotation. Confucius took it to express a moral quality and exercise. He seems to have spared no pains either to ignore or to suppress religious elements which preceded

him. By a sort of destiny, however, the times which followed took revenge by making *li* less moral and more formal than he had intended. History would indicate that bare morality is neither self-sufficient nor all-sufficient. While Confucius attempted to balance the outward, appropriate expression and the inner, benevolent, and respectful spirit, he disregarded a behest of Heaven, and *li* became too easily politeness and convention. Before the canon of the *Classics* closed, *li* had become the supreme and all-inclusive virtue, with a pronounced tendency as formal "propriety" to ignore both religion and moral law. Confucius advocated ceremony for its morally beneficial effects on human character. He talked of "man, the ideal man, in perfect adjustment to the universe of men and things"; but in effect the adjustment which he advocated was attained through ceremony. By his own disposition, lacking in imagination, by the vagueness of his program for society, by his failure to provide religion for his people, he gave to formalism unimpeded opportunity. *Li* triumphed over *jen*.

According to the *Li Chi*, which, of course, the *Ju-chiao* edited, here are materials for a view of *li*:

. . . Always and in everything let there be reverence; with the deportment grave as when one is thinking, and with speech composed and definite . . . Pride should not be allowed to grow; the desires should not be indulged; the will should not be gratified to the full; pleasure should not be carried to excess. Men of talents and virtue can be familiar with others and yet respect them; can stand in awe of others and yet love them . . . Do not seek for victory in small contentions; do not seek for more than your proper share . . . In observing the rules of propriety, what is right should be followed . . . To cultivate one's person and fulfill one's words is called good conduct . . . The course of duty, virtue, benevolence, and righteousness cannot be fully carried out without the rules of propriety . . . nor can the duties between ruler and minister, high and low, elder brother and younger, be determined . . . nor can majesty and dignity be shown in assigning the different places at court, in the government of the armies, and in discharging the duties of office so as to secure the operation of the laws; nor can there be the proper gravity and sincerity in presenting the offerings to spiritual beings on occasions of supplication, thanksgiving, and the various sacrifices. Therefore, the

superior man is respectful and reverent, assiduous in his duties and not going beyond them, retiring and yielding, thus illustrating the principle of propriety.

To read further would be to learn of the multitudinous details of *li's* bearing upon life and conduct: for example, in giving gifts in return for gifts; in warming the parents' bed in winter and cooling it in summer; in carrying a stool for an elder to sit on if one goes to ask the elder's counsel; in keeping the eyes cast down when entering a door; in never touching a woman's hand in greeting; in not marrying a wife of the same surname as oneself; in not making a noise in eating; if presenting cooked food, in taking sauce and pickles for it; in not listening to music while fasting; in always showing solicitude for parental welfare, such as by inquiries about their health, instant obedience, encouragement to eat, admonishing them, if necessary, with bated breath, bland aspect, and gentle voice; in innumerable items of manner and conduct, extending throughout the range of private and public life, possessing values great and small, even trivial, save among people to whom propriety as such is highly regarded.

FILIAL DEVOTION—HSIAO. The keen sense of duty which characterized Confucius and which the Chinese in general have possessed found its chief expression in what is known as filial piety. The social inequalities observed in China since 1000 B.C., at the latest, furnished fruitful ground for the development of *hsiao*. The performance of filial piety became primarily a matter of obedience of this individual or that to some person or power above him. There was on the part of the superior persons or powers the reciprocal responsibility of condescension and justice toward those beneath them. It was a matter of relations between persons and powers and the duties devolving upon persons and powers in view of their station. Filial piety is discussed in terms of five "reciprocal" relationships, namely:

Affection between father and child,
Harmony between husband and wife,
Friendliness on the part of elder brothers,

Respectfulness on the part of younger brothers,
Precedence between elders and youngers as between friend
and friend,
Respect on the part of the sovereign,
Loyalty on the part of the subject.

These five constitute the traditional, or classical, relationships. In a sense, the root of *hsiao* is the family and the home, where one is expected "to serve well one's father and mother." It begins with respect for one's parents, devotion to them, and the care of the body which they have given and extends, by the regulation of oneself and the attainment of true character and unselfishness, to all the relationships of life. The son is "filial" who while his father lives, marks his tendencies and when his father is dead, marks his conduct and who does not change from his father's ways for three years—the season of mourning. Once in direct reply to the question of the meaning of *hsiao*, Confucius said it is "not being disobedient," adding: "While parents live, serve them with decorum; when they are dead, bury them, and sacrifice to them, with decorum."³⁹ *Hsiao* is required of the young that they may be able to assume the burden of anything to be done, especially the providing of food for the family.

It is natural that filial devotion to the living should find extension in continued regard and homage toward those who have died. Confucius recognized the propriety of filial offerings to the spirits of the departed. To this extent, at least, he encouraged the continuance of the worship of ancestral spirits, which had prevailed in China from the earliest times. In fact, this type of religion was the only type left by him for the common people of China. He formulated a state cult of morality and of the imperial ancestors and ordained for the common people filial piety and the worship of their family spirits.

The claims of filial piety are adequately set forth in many of the *Classics*, including the *Analects*, to which we have already referred. In the *Book of History* (*Shu Ching*) mention is made of Shun, *ca.* 1000 B.C., the successor of the

great king Yao, who, although the son of "an obstinately unprincipled father," with an insincere stepmother and an arrogant half-brother, was able, by filial piety, to live in harmony with them and to lead them gradually to self-discipline and goodness. This character commended him to Yao, who only—says Confucius—responded to the standard of Heaven, and he (Shun) became an ideal ruler. But among all the writings there is one in particular devoted entirely to filial piety. This is the *Hsiao Ching*, or *Book of Filial Duty*, consisting of eighteen short chapters, culled from various sources and arranged soon after the death of Confucius. Some Chinese have contended that it really antedates Confucius and that he styled it a classic (*ching*). There can be no question that it represents ancient ideals; *hsiao* is one of the oldest ideographs. The book has been a favorite with emperors. It describes the "perfect virtue" of the ancient kings as "filial piety," and calls it "the root of all virtue, out of which grows all moral teaching." It carries its subject throughout all the classes of society and variations of human station, applying the virtue to kings, princes, ministers, and the common people in their respective dealings with the "three powers" (Heaven, Earth, and Man), government, and the family.

Very late in Chinese history (say *ca.* A.D. 1500) there were composed twenty-four stories in illustration of filial virtue as described in the *Hsiao Ching* and elsewhere. These twenty-four examples became a part of the instruction thereafter given in Chinese schools (until the order of the Kuomintang that they be no longer taught). The stories began with the "preëminent" Shun and ran in point of time down to A.D. 1200. Among the paragons of piety were the emperor Wen, who during a three-year illness of his mother never left her bedside and who tasted first all the soups and medicines prepared for her; Yen, who disguised himself in deer skin and endured hardship in the forests in search of deer's milk for his parents; Chiang Ko, who hired himself out as a common laborer to support his widowed mother; Huang Hsiang, who cooled his father's

bed in summer and in winter warmed the bedding with his own body; Wang Hsiang, who melted the lake ice with the heat of his own body in order to procure fish for his step-mother, who had no affection for him; and the lad, Wu Meng, who went to bed early and allowed legions of mosquitoes to attack him, thereby diverting them from his parents, who, too poor to buy a net, slept in peace, nevertheless. A fairly full and complete description of filial duty is attributed to Confucius himself by the canonical edition of the *Hsiao Ching*:

The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: in his general conduct toward them he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them he seeks to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them when they are dead, he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity.

While the obligation of "filial piety" pertains to the whole round of social relationships, it pertains primarily and most of all to the family itself, particularly to the relation of a son to his parents. It can be seen, therefore, that *hsiao* is the principle of family solidarity. It tended to be exaggerated because of the fundamental place of the family as the primary unit in the Chinese social system. It tended, furthermore, to make the virtuous man an ideal *son* rather than an ideal *man*. This lent enhanced value to *hsiao* in comparison with *jen*, the "perfect virtue" of the *man*, and *hsiao*, the "perfect virtue" of the *son*. The Chinese under the leadership of the Kuomintang found in *hsiao* a handicap to any scheme of moral renovation. Filial piety, however virtuous once under certain past circumstances, had lost its virtue and had become a force for conservatism, reaction, and stagnation. The present Communist government of China is attacking family solidarity and attempting to erect in its place respect for the central authority.

THE SUPERIOR MAN. There are other aspects of Confucian morals. These are, however, not separate and independent items but explicit signs, "small virtues," of the moral substance represented by benevolence (*jen*), duty

(*i*), knowledge (*chih*), sincerity (*hsin*), propriety (*li*), and filial piety (*hsiao*), which themselves constitute the body and spirit of Chinese traditional morality and religion. Filial piety itself was in essence merely man's supreme duty (*i*), even as duty, knowledge, sincerity, and propriety were all component parts or manifestations of *jen*. Confucius himself meant no more than this when, in reply to the question "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all of one's life?" he said, "Is not *reciprocity* or sympathy (*shu*) such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." Reciprocity was *jen* applied especially to the "five relationships," and these again are the fields of operation of *hsiao*. When he speaks of bravery, he conditions it with right and propriety, and he associates loyalty with reciprocity ("conscientiousness to self and consideration for others" are "one all-pervading principle").

In a composite picture of the superior man (the virtuous, ideal, perfect man) we may behold the virtues in their proper combination. Such a person is referred to at least eighty-eight times in the *Analects* alone. In him nature and training are proportionately blended; he takes the right as his foundation principle, reduces it to practice with all courtesy, carries it out with modesty, and renders it perfect with sincerity. He seeks in himself what he wants, upholds his dignity without striving; in his bearing he avoids rudeness and heedlessness; in his expression he is sincere, and in the tone of his conversation he keeps aloof from vulgarity and impropriety. He is widely versed in letters and qualified in music, stands unshaken by any emergency, is free from anxiety, doubt, and fear, bears want unshaken because his mind is not on eating, nor on poverty; he is not lustful, quarrelsome, or covetous. He holds in awe the divine will, the great, and the precepts of the sages; he observes distinctly, apprehends clearly, is kindly in appearance, respectful in manner, conscientious in speech, earnest in the discharge of duty, and ready to take advice. He curbs his anger, takes no gain without right, has concern for filial

piety and brotherly love, enhances his humanity by friendship, is broad-minded and not partisan, practices what he preaches, is not an automaton, never disregards virtue, does not meddle in other men's private affairs, helps the needy, and holds all men as his brothers because he is reverential.

The *Chung Yung* adds several elements to this composite, showing that the Superior Man is also watchful over himself when alone, has no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, but rests in mental equilibrium, embodying the course of the mean. He feels no regret, though he be unknown and unregarded by the world; corrects himself and seeks for nothing from men; reposefully awaits destiny; cherishes the past, knows the present, properly evaluates propriety, is not proud in high position, nor insubordinate in low; and does what is proper to the station in which he is (how incomparable as a short definition of a gentleman—one who knows his place and keeps it!). He dislikes to speak of men's faults, dislikes underlings who slander their superiors; does not abandon his course mid-way; and his way is that of Heaven and Earth and all things. In simpler phrase, this hero, sage, and *Uebermensch* embodies benevolence, duty, knowledge, sincerity, propriety, filial piety, and reciprocity; repays injury with justice, and kindness with kindness.⁴⁰ He stands in the center of things and does not lean; he is in harmony with the universe. The *Chung Yung*, which is equivalent to Book XXVIII of the *Li Chi*, is virtually an essay on the Superior Man, and is an admirable summary of Confucian doctrine. Indeed, the conception of the Superior Man is the one specific formulation of the Confucian ethical ideal. It is the center and circumference of morality. The self is the first consideration, but self-development and self-realization are attainable only when the individual is poised, with Heaven, Earth, and all things in perfect adjustment. This is all very ideal indeed, and perhaps a trifle theoretical.

THE SAGE EVALUATED. Confucius, in spite of his theoretical idealism, accommodated his moral code to many of the conditions prevailing in his day. Although he accepted

distinctions of class and rank in the social structure, he seemed to imply that they might be abolished by means of learning. He may have edited or composed a work, Book VII, of the *Li Chi*, describing an ideal brotherly republic in actual operation during the days of primitive simplicity, but he held that inequalities of lot have their proper basis in the moral law. He certainly provided, contrary to antiquity, for something other than government by the voice of the people, and held that some men could not learn. He described the inferior man in contrast with the superior. In general, he took the ancient view of woman as an inferior in both station and capacity, as intended to "follow the man," whether father, elder brother, husband, or son, as circumstances might successively determine. His family ideal tolerated polygamy and concubinage (the Oriental "family" is more comprehensive than the Western), thus establishing distinctions and a double standard of morality within the household. Actual marriage, however, was to this extent a mutuality, that the wife received her husband's rank and was to be the object of his respect and love. Active virtue, as Confucius said, roots in the relations of the sexes.

Confucius held a very interesting theory regarding the place of music and poetry in life and government. It was to him normal and fitting that man should be moved by "the concourse of sweet sounds," and thus be prevented from "treasons, stratagems, and spoils." The symbol for "pleasure," or "joy" (*lo*) is a big drum with a small drum on either side of it, all three resting on a frame. A certain tone or reading of this symbol signifies "music" (*yüeh*, or *yo*). Music is thus linked with pleasure. The foundation of all music, according to the Sage, is "harmony," in the absence of which chimes, strings, bells, and drums produce only "noise." Propriety (*li*) and music are "brothers," since both depend upon harmony. When the two symbols, "propriety and music," are used together, they may be understood to mean "civilization," or the "arts." Confucius once indicated the process of character education as beginning

with the Odes, or *Book of Poetry*, being established by propriety and perfected by music. He recommended music as valuable toward good government, whether in a small town or in the larger centers. He commended the commandant of little Wu for bringing the people to exchange their mail and helmets for stringed instruments and singing. In every case, music to be beneficial must be harmonious and rendered by men of virtue. Confucius himself studied music in his youth, and later made the subject of music and of musical instruments a matter of intense research. He played the flute with some skill, and on occasion joined in singing. Having established the details of ancient practice, he sought to bring about thereby reform in government.

So much has been said about Confucius' reference to the past for principles necessary for man's complete development—in fact, as providing adequate examples of perfection in character and government—that it might seem irrelevant now to ask, Did Confucius provide for *change*? The word for change, or reform (*kai*), was certainly in his vocabulary. He told men not to hesitate to change when in the wrong and lamented his own inability to correct his imperfections. He said, "It is amendment that is of value," and "to err and not reform may indeed be called error." On so scanty a basis, however, we are scarcely justified in thinking of Confucius as an experimentalist. His mind was bent upon reform to this extent, that the present seek correction in terms of ancient principles and precedents. His nation has thus understood him through the centuries. We question, therefore, the imputation of an utter absence of a sanction for reform. Furthermore, he sketched a ground in *jen* for an individualism which could be made sufficiently sound for permanent progress. It calls for supplementation, rather than rejection.

CONFUCIUS, THE HUMANIST. Evaluated in terms of the tenets of Christianity, Confucius has often been labelled agnostic, or even atheist. Judged within the framework of Chinese thought, which has always been strongly society-

and man-centered, it seems more accurate to term Confucius a humanist. It is quite true that he did not attempt to solve in any way the why and wherefore of man's existence or to postulate and explain a future life. He dealt with things mundane. He would not inquire into death until he fully understood life. He gave himself "earnestly to the duties due to men," honored the gods, but refrained from familiar intercourse with them (*Ana.* VI, xx). He would not say, even, whether the dead have consciousness, for fear that filial sons might neglect the living for the sake of the dead. On the other hand, he did not say the dead are not conscious, lest unfilial sons give up burying their dead and sacrificing to them.

He recognized invisible Power and powers—Heaven and the spirits. He felt that Heaven "knew him," had entrusted him with his mission, and would sustain him against his enemies. He thought it possible that Heaven might "strike him dead" if he did wrong. Concerning the spirits he said, "How surpassing great are they; looking, we cannot see them; listening, we cannot hear them; embodying themselves in things, they are not to be neglected; they make all men breathe, fast, put on sacrificial clothing, and worship them; vague and yet pervading, they seem to be above and all around us."⁴¹ He declared that if men sinned against Heaven, they had nowhere to direct their prayers. He himself was in the habit of praying, and he sanctioned prayer on his own behalf. He commended sacrifice as the chief method of approach to Heaven and the spirits. However impersonal Heaven was taken to be in later times, Confucius thought of Heaven as personified and personalized, able to see and hear, and to take delight in offerings and in the homage and service rendered by men; compassionate and the author of man's moral sense; the rewarder of those who obeyed his will and the punisher of offenders against his laws; giving seed to the sower, and blessing all who toiled virtuously; so jealous of the people's welfare as to remove rulers from office who neglected or abused their subjects; whose will was absolute and whose highest con-

cern was the moral conduct of mankind. It would not be true, therefore, to say without qualification that Confucius was an agnostic. He seems to have accepted the general view which antiquity held of Heaven. He may have been more religious in private than he publicly admitted, holding it a fault to be demonstrative. Yet he sacrificed to his forefathers and to the gods and observed scrupulously the religious proprieties. There is thus in the thinking of Confucius an awareness of the Way of Heaven, and this provides the basic premise of his teaching. At the same time the positive concern of Confucius was with man and society. This is the reason for calling him a "humanist."

HUMAN NATURE. The great problem occupying the minds of Confucian scholars for centuries after the Great Sage was that of human nature. The Sage did not press his inquiry beyond the realm of human conduct. His theory of man was, doubtless, merely that of the five *Classics*, that "man is the product of interaction of the dual forces of nature, *yang* and *yin*, a union of an intelligent and an animal soul, the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, the embodiment of the five elements";⁴² and that man has, "without learning them," the "seven feelings, joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and liking." He evaded questions about souls and spirits, while using words to designate them. There were many words for soul, although it is difficult to say just what their early content was. There are: *kuei shen*, i.e., good and evil spirits, separable from bodies; *hun*, half *yang*, half *yin*, an *anima*, or sublimated self, which goes to heaven at death (distinct from *p'o*, that part of man which goes to earth at death); and *hsing*, the nature, temper, faculty of man. The Sage acknowledged that man is a creature of desire, liking food, drink, and sexual pleasure, and greatly disliking poverty, suffering, exile, and death; that by some faculty he deems some things right and advantageous, and other things the opposite; that he has a moral sense which urges him to obey the moral law, and to keep himself in harmony with nature; that men have by nature (*hsing*) high and low propensities, and tend in practice to

fall apart in grades and classes; and that all (?) men may, if they will, attain to virtue and accord with nature. In a word, it seems the Sage's view that man is good by nature. We can say little more.

THE "SECOND" CONFUCIAN. Mencius (372-289 B.C.), the greatest of Confucianists, first extended the Master's naive view that man is good by nature, and formulated the doctrine of man's original and essential goodness. This doctrine ever since, along with that of the inequality of men, has been Confucian orthodoxy: essential goodness manifest in class. Confucius in his own class was a democrat, but in the total situation an aristocrat. His view, therefore, that all men might reach perfection if well educated, had the net result of education for the exceptional individual and of neglect for the ordinary and inconspicuous. Mencius pointed out that some men work with their hands and others with their minds, and frankly said that to banish such distinctions (or forms of inequality) would mean return to barbarism. Hsün-tze (c. 300-235 B.C.; pronounced *schwinze*), a Confucianist inclined to make human evil positive, held it fundamental that man makes distinctions and expresses them in class divisions which grow from human desire and its proper satisfaction. The nearest approach to a Confucian reconciliation of the aristocratic theory of distinctions and the democratic theory of natal goodness has been the implicit theory of *more or less goodness*. Do the two theories, however, stand in need of merging?

Mencius virtually kept the system flexible by directing it toward optimism and democracy, toward democracy by his theory that the welfare of the people is the end of government, that rulers are of less importance than their subjects, and that unjust rulers may be overthrown by rebellion morally justified. As an optimist, Mencius may have got his cue from passages like *Chung Yung*, XXVI, 5, 6, where men are made partakers of the "entire sincerity," or "absolute trustworthiness." That is, the virtue of the natural order and of men's hearts is one. Otherwise, how could man evolve goodness from himself? Mencius rests his doc-

trine of human nature on such ground, and shows that man tends to goodness even as water tends to flow downhill; that the evil which men do represents not an absence but a corruption of good; that human nature does not have to be forced from without to goodness, but that *jen*, benevolence, *i*, justice, *chih*, understanding, and *li*, propriety, are among inherent qualities; that these virtues are developed by superior men seeking to be perfect; that "benevolence is man's mind, and righteousness is man's path" and the "four principles" (*jen*, *i*, *li* and *chih*) belong to man as naturally as his four limbs. Legislation was to Mencius a phase of external discipline futile in the making of morality. To live naturally is to achieve virtue. He recognized the ancients, and acknowledged that a few of them were perfect, but he insisted that men—himself, at least—could do without them, for of what value, said he, were they, if virtue lies within you? His theory is more clear-cut than anything Confucius had proposed; wherein he makes a weighty contribution. Before we look more closely at other details of his doctrine, let us see the man himself.

LIFE OF MENCIUS. Mencius, whom the Chinese rate second only to the Sage, was born of a noble family in the state of Lu. He was contemporary with such scholarly foreigners as Aristotle and Demosthenes, and with the Chinese Chuang-tze. His mother was remarkable, extremely careful in her habits. She "taught him when he was yet unborn," and protected him in early childhood by living in a proper neighborhood. She had lived at first beside a cemetery, and the imitative lad acted out the funeral ceremonial, like Confucius, with its all-too-formal grief. Thinking this harmful for her son, she moved to the market-place. But there the lad began to think that life is noisy bartering and deceitful boasting. So she moved again, and took up residence beside a school, where the pupils were being taught Confucian standards. Even there she was not content with his merely "doing well enough" in school, as he said indifferently one day. She gave him on the occasion an object lesson by dramatically slashing the threads she

was weaving into cloth, saying that he by not attending to his studies was doing so with the threads of life. The lesson stimulated his exertion, and he excelled thereafter. She was equally solicitous for him in all relations, winning his undying reverence and love. She continued his adviser in family and public matters, urging him always to do as right dictated. Such was "the mother of Mencius," whom China honors as the ideal mother. We know him by knowing her. Otherwise we know little of his first forty years. To know her is to account for many of her son's opinions.

Mencius studied the five *Classics*, especially the *Shu* and the *Shih*, and Confucius became to him the greatest mortal. While he could not have known the Sage's grandson, he acknowledged his indebtedness to him. He lived in a day more turbulent than Confucius knew: the Chou dynasty was in decay, and loyalty to government was weakened; the authority of Confucius was questioned; by some he was disowned. Mencius entered into spirited controversy with opponents, and gave counsel to the princes on government and morals. He probably spent a quarter of a century (after forty years of age) in public life, journeying among the petty states, urging their rulers to "be strong to do good," and combating doctrines which he held to be inimical to personal character and the public welfare. He, like Confucius, had a sense of mission. Although he felt that "Heaven did not yet wish the empire to enjoy good order and tranquillity," he had no doubt that he could bring such end about. His last twenty years were spent in the congenial company of his disciples and in compiling his *Works* for posterity.

WORK OF MENCIUS. Mencius contended with opponents and commented upon his predecessors. Kao, a contemporary, declared that man was neither good nor bad by nature. He likened human nature to a willow tree, and man's duty to a willow bowl, saying that duty is got from man's nature as the bowl is chiselled from the tree. Again, he likened human nature to running water which, without "bias" in

itself, might be deflected easterly or westerly. Mencius in reply contended that cutting bowls from trees does damage to the trees, and by this figure duty is injurious to the doer; that water really has a "bias," it tends to seek its level. Kao must have seen that men did not necessarily hurt or kill themselves by doing good. He may have thought, like Locke, that ideas are not innate; that—again, like Locke—morality depends on Heaven, not on man. Or, he may have meant to say that good and evil are not essentially distinct, but only what they are thought to be. Mencius sought to show that duty did not harm the doer, but rather enlarged him, although he declared that a man's moral sense *might* suffer loss, as the tree suffers from the axe. He seems not to have thought of the bowl as already existing in the tree before the chisel is applied, or of the tree's existence in the bowls carved out of it; yet he said that Nature and men's hearts are one.

Another contemporary whose "words filled the empire," as Mencius said, was Yang Chu, pessimist, egoist, anarchist, and cynic, who preached a doctrine which Mencius phrased as "every man for himself." He was cynical because, he declared, he had seen men perish walking in the path of virtue and rulers flourishing in wickedness. He did not recognize the legitimacy of any ruler or governmental authority. He lived in a self-created atmosphere of gloom, despairing of the effectiveness of any remedial measures for mankind. When asked if he would not be willing to spare a single hair if that might save the world, he sneeringly replied that "merely plucking hairs from one's head could not save it." He had no faith in other men, nor in spirits—if there are spirits, he said, they know nothing of men's needs and praises. He would live his life and yield at last to annihilation. But he was an advocate of fortitude, and not surrender. He would endure life and get what he could from it. He did not count on life for pleasure. He calculated that if man should live a hundred years, there would be little margin above infancy, sleep, pain, sorrow,

distresses, toil, and the increasing weaknesses of old age. He declined to worry, even over death. Mencius was disgusted with him. Nor have many Chinese followed him.

Chuang-tze, the great Taoist, was probably contemporary, but Mencius does not mention him. Could there have been a bond of sympathy between them? Or might Mencius have feared him for his greatness?

Among the predecessors whom he criticized was Mo-ti, who had proclaimed a doctrine of universal *jen*, love to all men equally in bonds of brotherhood. Mencius thought this meant a disregard of the special and proper claim of parents upon their children, a weakening of loyalty to virtuous rulers, and a guarantee that men, lacking true charity of heart and a true sense of duty, would become as "beasts devouring one another." Mo-ti had indeed struck at some of the roots of Confucianism, and was "unorthodox." By Confucian standards both Yang Chu and Mo-ti were extremists. Mencius won the day against them both.

MENCIUS: MAJOR DOCTRINES. These, in conclusion, are his major doctrines:

1. Human nature is originally, essentially, and incorruptibly good.

2. The people are Heaven's great concern. "They are the country's most important element."

3. The state is born of the people and on occasion may be modified or overthrown by them. It is intended as a means to facilitate the development of men, so that every individual in all human relations may rest in the highest excellence. The good state deserves men's loyalty.

4. Rulers are intended to be Heaven's agents, but should "see according as the people see, and hear according as the people hear." If rulers outrage the benevolence and righteousness proper to their nature and their office, they may be deposed. Government should be benevolent, not contentious, wasteful, or oppressive, and should insure the prosperity of the people, and provide them education. Prosperity, however, is futile without virtue, and education avails little in the midst of grinding poverty.

Rulers must have both personal and official virtue (although Mencius seems not to have dwelt as Confucius did upon the ruler's personal need of virtue). If a ruler is benevolent, righteous, and correct, his acts will be conducive to a firmly settled state.

5. The "minister of Heaven" is a special agent whom Heaven nominates on occasion (presumably through the voice of "the people"), not for *rebellion*, but for "righteousness," that is, for the re-establishment (through force?) of equity and truth.

6. Pomp and display are "despicable." To be a duke, or a minister, or a high official is an honor, but the "heavenly dignities" are to have charity of heart, to do one's duty toward one's neighbor, to be loyal to the state, and to speak the truth. Magnificent buildings, rich viands, pleasure and wine are to be avoided—nor, on the other hand, are men to be allowed to "eat the bread of idleness" or live in want.

7. Men make and observe "distinctions." There are princes and workers, and necessarily a division of labor among them. This is by the ordinance of Heaven, as nature gives itself expression. Government is the prerogative of "scholars," for the "thinker" must direct the toiler (in Mencius' day there were no "thoughtful" toilers?).

8. The individual self is the moving factor in social welfare (in this regard Mencius is more emphatic and more exclusive than Confucius). His balancing of parental obligation and self-concern is very delicate, with the suggestion of over-emphasis on self. He contended that the "superior man" would bring back the unchanging standard of "truth and duty." That the superior man did *not* bring about the perfect order in Mencius' day was because, Mencius said, Heaven was not ready for it—which seems a commentary on man's own power. Yet, in effect, Mencius' exaltation of the individual minified the power of Heaven. His view was further harmful to religion, beyond the damage which the Sage had wrought. Nor was it altogether helpful to morality. It tended to exclude at least as much as Confucius had excluded, especially of things spiritual.

His indifference toward ancestral spirits was of one piece with his slighting of the ancients. (He seemed to think, however, that his own spirit would deserve commemoration.) With man alone the object of one's faith, too great a faith may be reposed in man, thereby taking too little account of the inconsistencies of human conduct and the evils which men do. Mencius' optimism may have made somewhat unreal for him the hatred, strife, unfilial acts, and perverted attitudes which displayed themselves about him. With Confucius, attention to one's self brought a certain measure of humility, but with Mencius it brought pride and self-sufficiency. Who, after all, is the genuine Confucian, Mencius, or his Master?

HSÜN-TZE. Hsün-tze (possibly 318-235 B.C.) was a young man when Mencius died in 289, but his prominence began when he was fifty years of age—when he first began to spread his teachings in Shantung. The historian says—and this suggests the time of Mencius—that Hsün-tze “belonged to a generation of evil and foul governments, of dying states and evil princes, who did not follow the great Tao, or Way, but attended to magic and prayers, and believed in omens and luck; a generation of low scholars and worthless fellows.” In contrast, he suggests that Hsün-tze was a high scholar, “a compendium of all the learning of the age,” a respected exemplar of virtue, who embodied the Confucian virtues, and warned against the doctrines of Mo-ti and other non-Confucianists. Hsün-tze was, perhaps, the leading scholar of his generation. He is at once Confucian in his theory that vice must lose and virtue conquer. He expects that propriety, benevolence, justice, sincerity, and loyalty will conquer, but he criticizes freely the standard theory of human nature. He took more consistent account of the facts of life than either Confucius or Mencius had done, and, more utilitarian than his predecessors, he seemed more eager to deal with those factors which made for “doing things properly” and for the spread of teachings which advanced the right. He considered futile any discussion of Heaven, except as Nature round about

man and natural law operating upon man, and discussions of the Tao, except as the "Way" in which man himself acts. He was interested in man as part of the immediate, social order, rather than an object of speculation. Eliminating prayer, providence, spirits, divination, and the supernatural, he placed man fundamentally upon his own resources.

HSÜN-TZE'S THEORIES. Hsün-tze's theories may be enumerated as follows:

1. Man is a "crooked stick" in need of straightening, "a blunt knife" in need of sharpening; by birth he is "small-minded," prone to think only of profit, his own advantage; he is naturally susceptible and imitative, and, if he meets an evil age, will be affected by bad customs; he will repeat the smallness of the small, and acquire evil from the evil-minded.

2. Man stands in need of good example in order to develop. "The nature of man, being prone to evil, must be submitted to teachers and laws to make it correct." "Without a teacher, or a set of principles, he can only think of profit." He must depend, at least indirectly, upon the examples of ancient times, known through the *Classics*, even as one must use a long rope to draw water from a deep well.

3. Man can observe and discriminate. He "is not truly man more particularly in that he has two feet and no feathers, but rather in that he makes distinctions." He distinguishes times, seasons, men, and values. He observes grades of virtue in the social classes: (a) in the common man who follows custom, seeks gain, and filially supports his parents, (b) in the "high scholar" of firm will, who allows no selfish desires to confuse his learning, (c) in the "solid, superior man," who attends to the self-correction of his deficiencies in speech, action, knowledge, and thought, who reveres the sages, and instructs inferiors, and (d) in sage rulers who adjust themselves easily to the principles of rulership, carry out spontaneously the rules of propriety, treat the people naturally according to ceremony, and bind the people together by the goodness and justice of their administration.

4. Man is a member of society. Hsün-tze says that society, rather than nature or virtue, is the standard of authority. This is "heresy" although Confucius said, "It is the moral character of a neighborhood which constitutes excellence." The essence of humanity is social organization in which occupations differ for the sake of getting work done easily. The rights of all the classes are harmonized through social distinctions. When society is harmonious, it is strong, controls all things, and enjoys universal goodness.

5. Man is in a measure self-dependent. Good and evil, fame and fortune, are from within him. That is, he need not depend on Heaven, for of itself Heaven can neither impoverish nor enrich men. Both Heaven and Earth have their functions, as have also *yang* and *yin*: they perform their great mutations, as they have done from the beginning, and man may observe them and act accordingly to his advantage.

6. The ideal human virtue is propriety (*li*). It is virtually the sum of all the virtues; it is Tao, the Way of the universe; it is *teh* (or *te*), morality. It is proper conduct, rites, and ceremony, all of which are indispensable in human intercourse. It is the inner quality of the human mind and heart, by which man may train himself for his proper place in the social order.

7. Every man, even "the man on the street," may become a sage, *if* he learns and practices the virtues. Men have the capacity to be sages, but some do not take advantage of it.

Hsün-tze was never wholly accepted. His theory of human nature was "heretical." He may be compared with Mencius, although both seem to have given emphasis in partial manner. Hsün-tze's view was more specific, that man is prone to evil and must attain to positive and complete virtue. Mencius said that evil is merely the temporary corruption of original goodness. Hsün-tze said that men had actually corrupted goodness and had thereby disposed human nature to corruption. Mencius said that virtue is the development of what is altogether innate, thus

making man quite self-dependent. Hsün-tze observed that men stood in need of external guidance, were not really independent, and therefore needed the good example of the ancients. He admitted that the ancient sages had first to become ideal, but that, nevertheless, they still had value; they predisposed mankind to goodness. The Chinese preferred Mencius' optimistic assumptions about human nature to Hsün-tze's logical deductions. Hsün-tze insisted that Mencius had ignored a host of vital facts in man's experience and the world about him. Perhaps they both ignored some vital facts. Neither one accounts quite fully for goodness as a moral factor, and neither one assigns a place to Heaven as the religious object of man's dependence, and the source of spiritual insight and direction. After them, Confucianism had to reckon with other faiths in competition with it. Perhaps man is not naturally as good as Mencius thought him. Perhaps he is not naturally as prone to evil as Hsün-tze thought him.

CONFUCIANISM THROUGH THE CENTURIES. Our story carries us now rapidly over thirteen centuries, especially through the interesting and notable T'ang era (A.D. 620-907), when China was the most highly civilized nation on the earth. The feudal system known to Confucius, Mencius, and Hsün-tze gave way about 236 B.C. to a semblance of empire and imperial control; and soon thereafter the first Emperor, Shih Huang-ti, ordered most of the Confucian *Classics* burned, because, he said, they blocked the way of progress. China was, however, unwilling to surrender them; they were restored in time, and progress went on with them. The *Ju-chiao* was kept alive mainly by the educated classes. The masses continued the worship mainly of their ancestral spirits. At times during this long period the higher Taoism of Lao-tze and Chuang-tze influenced both rulers and philosophers. Lower Taoism, with its magic, spiritism, and "medicine of immortality," was influential with the masses. Buddhism by that time affected all classes. The Emperor himself had welcomed the new faith during the first century A.D., and had sent messengers to

India to inquire further into it. For five hundred years Indian Buddhist missionaries had come to China, after which monks from among the Chinese were trained to carry on. Buddhism, or the Fo-chiao, took its place as one of the "three teachings" and must be reckoned with if one accounts for modern thought and faith in China.

The worship of Mount T'ai was a conspicuous feature of the period. T'ai was the most important of the five sacred mountains, which, along with the sun, moon, rivers, hearth, and the ancestral spirits, were objects of prayer and sacrifice. With the formation of the Empire, T'ai Shan, the mountain of the east (in Shantung), had become its guardian. As the east is of the spring, the source of life, T'ai Shan became the "source" and ruler of men's lives, determined their station, fixed their life span, measured out happiness and misfortune for them, and ruled over their spirits and the "seven hells" after death. Both the state and the people worshiped holy T'ai. Favors especially sought of T'ai were (1) rain, or fine weather, according to the people's need, and (2) protection from earthquakes, violent storms, and dangers attendant upon comets, eclipses, and other natural phenomena. The worship of T'ai was regularly a springtime ceremony, preferably on the mountain top, but allowed from a distance if one faced the mountain. The earliest sacrifices were laid upon square altars under the open sky. Later, temples were built and used, both on the mountain and elsewhere. The worship of T'ai spread in fact to every part. The Emperor would announce to T'ai his accession to the throne and ask T'ai's blessing on his reign. He would ask his aid in a distant campaign, or if he were desirous of a son. On occasion he would make a pilgrimage to the mountain top and worship there. T'ai was not only guardian of the state, but god of the people. In time any worshiper might worship in T'ai's temples anywhere.

During the T'ang era, the "Golden Age," religious toleration prevailed, and two other foreign faiths came into China, Islam and Christianity. Christians and Muslims

both came in the seventh century, but were not widely influential, especially in the north. Ultimately Islam spread widely among the masses of the west, and Christianity exerted its influence intensively in eastern centers of learning and leadership. All the faiths combined failed, however, to save the Golden Age from dissolution. Moral laxity and religious superstition prevailed. By A.D. 1000 the Mongols were pressing upon China, and it was destined to become tributary to their sway. The emperors, as a rule, had been Confucian, although some had given aid to Buddhism or to Taoism. Although in 955 the Emperor closed thirty thousand unauthorized Buddhist and Taoist monasteries, both faiths endured. Taoism of the lower type was a nursery of magicians, while Buddhism was corrupted by a discipline of self-torture. A few of the Buddhist monks and several higher Taoists were worthy scholars, and both faiths exerted lasting influences on Chinese literature. The era needed its great man, and Chu Hsi came.

NEO-CONFUCIANISM. Chu Hsi (pronounced *ju shee*) or Chu Fu-tze (1130–1200), is the great philosopher of the *Ju-chiao*, thirteen centuries after Hsün-tze. He was born in Fukien, where his father held office. He also held office several times, once as governor of a province. He was a diligent and competent scholar. He studied Buddhism and Taoism, but became an ardent Confucianist. He represents the re-awakening of Chinese philosophy, and the dawn of the neo-Confucian era. He revolted against Taoism and Buddhism, and strove to restore the *Ju-chiao* to its ancient supremacy. But neither Taoism nor Buddhism could be disregarded by the neo-Confucianists. They both had their influential metaphysics, and their teachings had become an aspect of the general mind. The Confucian scholars had to meet them on their own ground. In consequence, neo-Confucianism became highly philosophical—quite in contrast with the traditional system which had ignored things metaphysical in favor of the sociopolitical and ethical. Chu Hsi did not neglect the weighty matters of social organization, politics, and morals, but he wrought out a theory of

the universe and especially a philosophy of human nature. He established thus a newer type of "orthodoxy." His literary method thereto was by commentary on the ancient *Classics*. He reduced the *Classics* to consistency.

Chu Hsi found in the *I Ching* and the *Li Chi*, especially, passages useful for his philosophic purposes. He used the *Great Learning* (*Ta Hsiueh*) for its theory of politics and its suggestion of logical method. He and the entire neo-Confucian school took as their task "the investigation of things." Note this passage in the *Ta Hsiueh*, which represents the simple thesis of the work, and served as inspiration to Chu Hsi:

By investigation knowledge becomes complete. When [rulers'] knowledge becomes complete, their thoughts become sincere; through sincere thoughts their hearts are rectified; their hearts being rectified, their persons are cultivated; through the cultivation of their persons their families are regulated; by the regulation of their families their states are rightly governed; and with right government in the states the whole empire enjoys tranquillity and happiness.

The system of Chu Hsi, the most important element in neo-Confucianism, is the "orthodoxy" which, in reality, has been assailed in recent years by restless and revolutionary China.

CHU HSI'S THEORY OF THE UNIVERSE. The universe is a dualism, the two elements of which are matter (*ch'i*) and law (*li*).⁴³ *Ch'i* permeates all things and makes them what they are. *Ch'i*, therefore, is not confined to "matter" in the sense of being tangible and perceptible to the senses. It is rather the primordial substance, intangible and invisible, from which spring all phenomena, not only material (in a strict sense), but also psychical and spiritual. He put the greater emphasis upon the material aspect of *ch'i*, and thus may seem a "materialist," but he did not disallow the term a spiritual meaning. We are not unfamiliar with theories which make matter and spirit two manifestations of one element, for example, ether, and demonstrate the constant interaction of the two, whereby matter becomes spirit and

spirit, matter. The "matter" (*ch'i*) of Chu Hsi seems to have been in its primordial form pure spirit. Pure spirit is set in motion (by law, *li*); it rotates; by its rotation, two modes are produced, energy and inertia (*yang* and *yin*); following these two modes the "five agents" (water, fire, wood, metal, and earth) are developed; beyond these come the two principles which become the male and female elements, ultimately giving rise to creation; universal production and reproduction follow in an unending stream.

Ch'i is the underlying substance in all stages, and the ground of all phenomena, both physical and psychical. *Li* is the law, or principle, of existence and operation. It is the "reason" for existence. Everything has its own *li*. The movement of *ch'i* depends upon *li*. *Li* has both energy and inertia, which is why *ch'i* has both motion and rest. *Li* can form nothing, because it has no content; *ch'i* is the content. *Li* may induce motion, but is more a regulative principle than a principle of activity. *Li* depends upon *ch'i* for the *extent* to which it manifests itself. *Li* and *ch'i* come near to what we generally mean by the familiar speculative terms, mind and matter. There is no *li* apart from *ch'i*, and no *ch'i* apart from *li*. The two elements are mutually dependent and inseparable. They are eternal, coexistent, but *ch'i* is subordinate to *li*. Matter is subordinate to mind, or reason.

Chu Hsi is the great Chinese monistic rationalist. To him the material is subject to the immaterial, and the immaterial is the moral, that is, the material is subject to the moral. He is not, therefore, a thoroughgoing "materialist." To him *li* is reverence, wisdom, righteousness, and love. He does not divide his universe; he is not an actual dualist; he is a monist. He looks to a Supreme Ultimate (*T'ai Chi*, primal unity), or the "Law of the Universe," the source of all laws and of all things. The Supreme Ultimate is not thought of as a separate entity, but is identified with *li* as both natural law and moral law (*tao*). Reason and morality stand highest in his philosophy, and things which

come into being by the action and interaction of *li* on *ch'i* must for the sake of the highest good obey the law of their being. He is saying what Confucius said, and proving it by the constitution of the universe, as well as by appeal to human nature and the rational soul.

If every event and every thing has its own *li*, it has its own *tao*, or moral law, within it, for *li* operates as *tao*. There is this right in everything, and its "rightness" is the same for all things. *Li* indicates that everything has its own rule of existence; *tao* expresses the fact that everything conforms to one moral law. Right (*tao*) is in everything and is at the heart of the universe; it has a real existence in actual connection with men and things, and is not merely something transcendent beyond the reach of man. There is identity between *tao* and *li*, and *tao*, as the all-pervading and all-comprehensive moral law, is the source of all things, and in all things.

CHU HSI'S PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN NATURE. What is man's nature? Whence comes it? What is its character? It is said in the *Chung Yung, Doctrine of the Mean*, that "the decree of Heaven is what is termed our nature," or "the ordinance of God is what we call the law of our being." In other words, what is in the universe as law is in man as his nature; what is universal and all-pervading is individualized in man. This is his view, and it is a clear indication of divine law over against man's will. It is, therefore, man's duty to obey the divine law, his essential nature. Chu Hsi's word for "nature" is composed of the signs for "birth" and "heart," and may be taken to mean that man from his birth has the moral law within his heart. Nature, however, is more than law; it is life; it is consciousness. It is man's duty, therefore, consciously to live according to the moral law, which is the law of his being and the concrete manifestation of the Ultimate.

In his view, as in that of Mencius, the nature of man is good. He predicated good of human nature, while allowing for the presence of evil. He knew that men have evil

thoughts and do evil, but he explains the evils in man's mind and conduct as the development of what was potential, and points out that the term "good" is relative and implies a contrast with what is potentially evil. He runs no risk of losing the distinction between good and evil. Human nature was "constituted for the practice of what is good," that is, the virtues of benevolence (*jen*), or love (*ai*), righteousness (*i*), wisdom (*chih*), sincerity (*hsin*), and propriety (*li*).

It was Chu Hsi's aim to transmit the Confucian *Classics* with a philosophical interpretation of their major teachings. He finds, therefore, as much place for religion as the *Classics* themselves allow. He found Heaven (*T'ien*) used in three senses: (1) the over-arching sky, (2) the Supreme Ruler, a personal power that governs mankind, rewarding their goodness and punishing them for doing evil, and (3) the moral law, or *li*. He "affirms the spirituality and ethical perfection of the Divine Being." "There is a man, *as it were*, above us commanding things to come to pass; 'great Heaven who has conferred upon the people below a moral sense,' is taught by the Odes and the Records." He did not rule out God entirely, although he left Him scarcely more than a bare abstraction. He did not rule religion out; he advised men against images and idolatry, and not to bother themselves about the spirits; but he declared that the breath of man at his death leaves his body, mingles with the *ch'i*, and may return again at times of worship. He recognized ancestor-worship, but finding no proof of God, he ignored certain elements within the human consciousness, and rested in the characteristic Confucian position, with certain forms of faith as measures of expediency.

Chu Hsi raised Confucianism again to the place of pre-eminence and made it the state religion. Every other faith was required to recognize it by erecting in their temples and mosques and on their altars tablets of loyalty to the emperor. His philosophy shaped the thinking of Chinese scholars for eight centuries. His commentary upon the

Classics was officially recognized as orthodox. Nevertheless, Taoist mysticism and magic, Buddhist ritual and ideals of contemplation, Muslim testimony to the unity and omnipotence of God, and the Christian view of the divine Christ continued to affect the Chinese and to promise the Chinese seeker after God something not found in Confucian orthodoxy.

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Chapter 5

TAOISM

THE *TAO-CHIAO*: LAO-TZE AND OTHERS

The naturally endowed, temporal-minded Chinese surprise us by the extent to which they have been given both to mysticism and to magic; yet often they have sought practical ends thereby. Mystical and magical elements have entered largely into Chinese character and religion in the guise of Taoism. Confucianism is perhaps the one prevailing mood of the Chinese, especially in general culture. It is in essence an expression of the Chinese moral consciousness. "Taoism" represents another mood, quite as truly Chinese. It has its moral connotations, but is mainly either mystical or magical, with sometimes no clear line between the two. While the Sage refrained from mentioning "wonders" and the supernatural, having little taste for mysticism, his country has been a land of wonders and of wonder-workers, of divination, witchcraft, exorcism, and geomancy, as well as the home of mystics, dreamers, and ascetics. China has been both Confucianist and Taoist from her earliest days.

PRIMITIVE TAOISM. As early as Shun (from 2224 B.C., according to the *Shu Ching*), orders were taken for the conduct of affairs, and indications were received of mortal destiny, from "the great tortoise." The tortoise shell was perhaps the earliest instrument of divination. The hollow surface of an upper shell was smeared with ink; then held convex side down above a flame until the coating dried and cracked into lines directed by the spirits of the unseen world. Those skilled in reading the meaning of these lines (and there were treatises by which one could be schooled)

announced the spirits' will and guidance in the matter. For example, Duke Wen of Chou (c. 1100 B.C.) used the tortoise shell¹ and learned that his beloved brother Wu, at the point of death, might yet be spared.

Stalks of the yarrow plant (the *shih*) were also used in divination. Pieces of varying length were jostled and allowed to fall, forming haphazardly a diagram, by spiritual direction, from which the omen might be read. Another early avenue to the world of spirit was the "personator" of the dead. From the Chou dynasty (twelfth to third centuries B.C.), it was customary at the funeral feasts for personators imbued with the spirits of the dead, which had been invoked to dwell within them for the time, to act as mediators between the departed and their kinsmen. These actors sat solemnly at the feasts, and solemnly ate and drank. They listened to the prayers of the bereaved, and in reply revealed the will of the deceased, giving their blessing to the living for their filial devotion.

Divination by tortoise shells and yarrow stalks early went out of use, but other methods took their place. "Personators" had disappeared by 300 B.C., but mediums have been employed ever since. In more recent times a favorite method has been that of lots. Many lots, each marked with its clear (or cryptic) answer, are thrown into an urn, from which one is drawn out by a person guided by the spirits in control. During many centuries since the third century B.C., a common method has been to use two marked or shaped pieces of stone, wood, or perhaps two coins. These are thrown down and read from the positions into which they fall. Also persons known as *wu* (*wu* means witch, magician, magic) have served from early times as mediums, comparable with the medicine men and shamans of all primitives. They have spoken for the dead, uttered oracles from the spirits, read men's minds, forecast the future, traced lost articles, written the strangely beautiful ideographs of the spirit world, and worked all sorts of miracles. They have been able, so it is said, actually to make visible the spirits of departed ancestors.

Perhaps the magical and the mystical, although not peculiar to the Chinese, have been among them more seriously reduced to system than elsewhere. As a *system* it is Taoist. The *Book of Changes*, the *I Ching*, has its mysterious diagrams which Confucius and his school tried hard to rationalize as the summary of all knowledge. In spite of them, the *Book of Changes* stands a senseless monument to China's easy faith in magic numbers. It is a Confucianist concession to a universal "Taoist" temper of the people which has held its own till now, a temper in favor always with the masses and often with rulers and the literati. Likewise there has been a mystical aspect of this temper of the common mind. This, too, has been reduced to system. When Buddhism brought from India near the dawn of the Christian era its own peculiar mysticism, its own ascetic theories and practices, and its own methods and formulas of magic, it had to take as well as give, so deeply implanted were the Taoist ways. It fused with Taoism, but did not supplant it. While Buddhism did become the real religion of the people, it was one of "three." Confucianism held its place in morals, while Taoism reigned supreme as the one effective system of intercourse between the world of mystery and man.

In other words, the Chinese are *Taoistic*, and the system known as Taoism, whether on its higher or its lower side, is the formulation of elements inherent in the common mind and conduct. Taoism as mysticism was "founded" by Lao-tze (sixth century B.C.), as religion, by Chang Ling (second century A.D.), and as philosophy, by Ko Hung (third century A.D.). In one form or another the entire life of China has been permeated with its ideas and its imagery; in the poetry and art of every age. China's drama is peculiarly, profoundly Taoist, and Taoist fancy runs riot in her folklore, myths, and legends. Chinese medicine is Taoist, whence its concern with charms and incantations, with the potencies of precious stones and rare, mysterious herbs, and with drugs concocted of strange and horrible ingredients. At least one memorable demonstration with grave

international consequences was Taoist both in origin and temper, the "Boxer" uprising of 1900.

THE HIGHER TAOISM. The story of the classical Tao-chiao, or "the teaching of the Way," opens in antiquity, but its truths are timeless. The first expounder of the teaching was Lao-tze, if, indeed, there was an actual man who bore this name. He was born in 604 B.C., somewhere in the little China of that time, the basin of the Hwang-ho, or Yellow River. We know little of his life story, yet we need not dismiss him as a myth. Nor should we treat him merely as a name to cover lesser persons otherwise unknown. The scanty records assign his birth to a date fifty-three years prior to Confucius, suggest that he may have known the Sage, and tell us that he lived to the ripe old age of eighty-seven. They tell us he held office as keeper of the public records at Lo-yang, the capital of the Chou dynasty. They tell us that he resigned his office toward the close of his life to fulfill in himself the doctrines he had advocated; that he wandered off toward the "barbarous" frontier, toward the unknown land of the Beyond to lose himself in it forever; that he tarried long enough at the boundary, at the border officer's behest, to compose in writing the paragraphs transmitted as the *Tao Teh Ching*, or "Classic of the Way and Morals"; and that he rode away immediately thereafter on a "black ox" and disappeared.

He seems not to have claimed to be the founder of a faith. Like Confucius, he pointed to the ancients. He said they had "practiced the Tao" and had used it to "make men simple and natural."² He claimed but to have taught what others had taught before him. His followers have said that Taoism is really the philosophy of the *I Ching* and the *Li Chi*, two of the "five books" (*wu ching*) of the Confucian canon. Lao-tze was most engaged with the ancient symbol Tao, appropriated it as the central concept of the ancient teachings and his own, and gave to China higher Taoism.

THE WRITINGS. The book he left must have been a compromise for expediency's sake, for symbols written on a

page were not reality to him. The *Tao Teh Ching* is very small in size, some five thousand Chinese ideographs, and scarcely longer in an English free translation. It is a curious assortment of arresting aphorisms, a series of suggestive hints thrown out in disregard of sequence. Tradition has arranged the miscellany in eighty-one titled chapters, such as "Form's Completion," "The Function of Emptiness," "Practicing Placidity," "Returning to Simplicity," "Humility's Increase," "Non-assertion," "The Disease of Knowledge," and "The Root of Order." Lao-tze's teachings on Tao and Teh had become a Chinese "scripture" (*ching*) before the Christian era, and brought with it to the West some ideas strangely similar. Its place was further established in 666 A.D., when the author was canonized and made a member of the royal line. During the entire period of the national examinations it was included in the course of study. Its text was cut in stone at the capital of each province. It is essentially Chinese.

Perhaps the *Tao Teh Ching* was the product of old age, when disillusionment had set in and the earth had become a realm of vanities. Or it may be the proper summary of a long life's wide experience, whose author had seen much of human nature, high and low, had exercised a discriminating mind, and had separated form and essence; who, amid political confusion, license, and corruption, had made an honest effort to account for virtue; who, amid the poverty and hardship of the masses, had sought in earnest how to cure their ills. He professed to have found a higher life than this, which men might come to know by returning in this life good for evil, and to be able to tell men what is good. It may appear that rejection rather than participation and control was Lao-tze's way of life. To some his teachings seem a counsel of despair by one who seeks oblivion in terms of "a return home to the Absolute." Lao-tze, indeed, seems not to have given himself steadfastly to meeting squarely the arduous issues of mortal life. And yet he may be credited with a distinct, valuable contribution toward the solving of the mystery of living, in this world and the

next. We may dismiss the thought that he was either sceptical or pessimistic; he merely did not take the world for granted. He had schooled himself in the *Book of Changes* and sought to find amid a world of change the enduring values of the spiritual. Perhaps the world he rejected was a fixed-mechanical condition. This life to him was but a veil beyond whose obscurity lay the Real. He had observed the passage of the living into death and had set himself to find a way of overcoming death. He found men dying in their striving for the sensuous and urged them rather to seek out the spiritual. He found that man need not suffer even "though his body perish," for to him the Tao endures, and man returns at last to Tao. This to Lao-tze was not death, but life.

THE TAO AS CONCEPT. Tao is the key-word in Lao-tze's exposition. We have learned that in its simplest content it means "way, or path, or road." It means, also, "a manner of acting, a way of thought, a rule of life," and "nature, law, and reason." To Lao-tze and his school it means all this and more. It is the ultimate explanation of the universe. It is the Ultimate, indefinable and indescribable. Lao-tze said he did not know its "name"; he simply called it Tao. When "forced to qualify it," he called it "reason, way, master, father, mother, carpenter." He named it by its qualities, which after all is description and not definition. We are reminded of the saying of Thomas Aquinas, that "we cannot so name God that the name shall express the Divine Essence as it is," and the saying of Augustine, that "God is ineffable; we more easily say what He is not than what He is." In Lao-tze's metaphysics Tao is primordial matter, formative principle, the self-existent, the self-acting, the homogeneous, the omnipresent, the intangible, the boundless, the inscrutable, the Real One, beside which the "many" are phenomenal and unreal.

Lao-tze's Reality was inherent in the Universal, and not in the particular. The whole and not its parts is real. The One is not merely the sum-total of the Many—it is more. "The several parts of the carriage are not the carriage," says

world of nature and to grasp Reality. Although this view was not entirely—or necessarily—one of world-rejection, it laid the ground for a later Taoist dogma of world-negation. Lao-tze may not have made a dogma of world-renunciation; his chief disciple, Chuang-tze, *did*. And the Taoist recluse—a Chinese contradiction in terms—of later times is a lineal descendant of this dogma.

THE HIGHER MORALS. Lao-tze's ethics are most interesting. While his philosophy is hard to comprehend, his ethics are more tangible. He not only talked of the real nature of the universe and of the law, or reason, by which the world of change is governed, but he offered men a way of life, a method of realizing "the impartial, unstriving, spiritual Tao," which is the producer, sustainer, and the end of all. In exposition of this way of life he used the ancient symbol Teh or "virtue." In the *Tao Teh Ching*, twenty-five times he uses Teh and thirty-two times he refers to the man who embodies Teh. Teh is the moral expression of the philosophic Tao and may likewise be inferred from several of the sixty-eight references directly to the Tao. Teh as a symbol is composite, the several parts of which together might be held to mean "the heart, or will caught in a net, advancing step by step to perfection." The net is the finite world into which Teh enters as an expression of the infinite Tao. Lao-tze does not say this in so many words, but it follows from such words as these, "the greatest virtue is simply following the Tao," "the end of virtue" is the attainment of "vacuity's completion" in the Tao. Teh is most useful, as it is lost in Tao.

Teh operates as: (1) *goodness* ("superior goodness is like water, . . . benefits all things . . . does not strive . . . occupies the place which all men shun"); (2) *humility* (the man of virtue "holds himself dear, but does not honor himself, knows himself but does not display himself"; "he beholds his smallness, and is called enlightened"; "he is not self-glorying, and he thus excels"; "he is lowly and therefore conquers, unlike those who render themselves lowly for the sake of conquest"; and (3) *quietude* (the woman al-

ways "through quietude conquers her husband, and by quietude renders herself lowly" and influential). Or we may comprehend Teh in its embodiment in Lao-tze's "virtuous, or ideal man." The "virtuous man" denies himself, divests himself of desire, is indifferent to love and hate, gain and loss, favor and disgrace; he provides for the soul and not for the senses; he does not hoard, but rather gives away, thus acquiring the more (virtue) for himself, for "the empty find their fill"; he is truly rich, because he is rich in thought; he finds inexhaustible value in his emptiness, even as "the wheel's utility depends upon its hollow hub, and the clay vessel's usefulness depends upon its hollowness."

Man's sense of "nothingness" is the basis and the fullness of his morals, even as the "nonexistence" or hollowness in things is the ground of their usefulness. A man's weakness is his strength and his strength is weakness, like the tree which "when it has grown strong is doomed." If a man have virtue he is safe, reptiles do not sting him, nor do fierce beasts seize or harm him; and if he come among soldiers, he will not fear their weapons. We may recall the Boxers' confidence in "virtue" when they rose against the "foreign devils." There is a passage in the Gospel of Mark (16:18) with a similar import: "They shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them." The Taoist man of virtue acquires no common knowledge (*hsüeh*, in the sense of "schooling"), but aims at "simple development in all things"; he will deliberately divest himself of learning, that he may be rid of madness and weariness of the flesh. Instead of learning, whence comes "distress," he seeks "wisdom." The merely learned are not "wise." The more the man of virtue reduces "knowledge" and acquires "wisdom," the greater access has he to the Tao.

All this may seem very vague, intangible, and perhaps ridiculous. It is, at least, an exhibition of fine paradox at which Lao-tze was a master. But the general tenor is quite clear. It may be summed up in three symbols, *wei wu wei*. *Wu-wei*, or "inaction," is a dogma, if Lao-tze ever was dog-

matic. ("To do nothing," "to remain passive," "not to interfere" is the fundamental, indispensable approach to Teh and Tao.) "With *wu-wei* there is nothing one may not achieve"; the Tao always practices *wu-wei*, and there is nothing that remains undone; "the highest virtue is *wu-wei*"; "the virtuous man does not strive," for "he that makes mars, he that grasps loses." "Rest is master of motion," "the farther one goes the less one knows," and "without opening one's gate, one may know the world."

Over against passivity, subjectivity, and individualism, there is the virtuous man as a unit in the family and in the social and political order. His asceticism has regard for others. He may marry and be virtuous, for virtue does not depend on celibacy. The good man has a duty toward the bad, to pay him good for evil, to teach him, and to save him. Apparently evil was real; indeed, Lao-tze draws a clear line between the evil and the good, as if they both were real. The good man has a duty toward the state. He does not reject the state, nor deny the emperor. The ideal ruler is a man of virtue. However, Lao-tze seems opposed to government as such, believing that there were better ways than politics. He was not a nationalist or patriot. Patriots appear, he said, when a nation is filled with strife. He was opposed to war, pointing out that the good are not contentious, and that a truly great conqueror does not win by war. He considered weapons a "source of unhappiness" and famines an inevitable consequence of wars. They who have the Tao "enforce submission without resort to arms." The nation has its place, but the virtuous man in office "governs by ignoring distinctions of class, by preserving the people from a knowledge of evil and hence from desire, and by making those who have evil knowledge afraid to use it." He rules by lack of ostentation, by moderation, and by nonassertiveness; and, of course, he does not levy heavy taxes! He does not multiply statutes, for "the more prohibitions, the poorer grow the people; and the more laws, the more thieves and robbers." He would banish war, suppress disorder, wipe out distress, and make government unnecessary, all by refor-

mation of the human heart. Let men be men of Teh and Tao.

It is plain that the Taoism of Lao-tze is something different in Chinese thought and life. It actually runs counter to much which China in her practical worldliness has considered wise and good. The teachings of Lao-tze and of Confucius oftentimes may not be reconciled. What the Sage would cultivate, namely, loyalty, duty, justice, benevolence, wealth, learning, propriety, and filial devotion, Lao-tze would ultimately, if not at once, abandon. The latter's virtue of humility, unlike the humility of the Sage, is valid only in *inaction*. His silence was deemed better than Confucian caution when one speaks. Confucian benevolence was at its best an evidence to Lao-tze of the absence of both Teh and Tao, for "Heaven and Earth exhibit no *jen* (benevolence)." To him only the spiritual, not the "natural," can exhibit *jen*; and the rules of *li* (propriety) are not the semblance of loyalty and faith; they are actually the beginning of disorder!

THE TAOIST DISCIPLES. Among the most conspicuous disciples of the higher Taoism are Lieh-tze, Mo-ti, and Chuang-tze (Mo-ti was a convert from Confucianism). Lieh-tze lived a shadowy existence sometime during the fifth century B.C. We have his *Works*, but no other record of his life. In his writings we may find perhaps the clearest statement—in the Taoist view—of the origin and character of the universe. Lao-tze had only hinted at the origin of things. Origins in any system are a problem which arises later. Things as they are receive the first attention, along with what the future is to be. Lieh-tze accounted for the origin of things in this way: In the beginning there was chaos, an unorganized mass with potentiality. There was no ultimate Nonexistence, and there was no unnameable Tao. Back of all, of course, was Tao, but it was not distinct from the unnameable universe. Lieh-tze identified as one the knowable and the unknowable, thus modifying his master's uncritical view. There was in original Chaos a mingled

potentiality of (1) *hsing*, or "form," (2) *ch'i*, or "spirit," and (3) *chih*, or "substance." Movement and change lay inherent in potentiality, along with reason whereby form, spirit, and substance might be realized. Tao is this guiding reason, the uncreated, passive, changeless, and eternal Tao, through whose *wu-wei*, or "nonactivity," the universe once formed keeps running in a never-ending cycle of "coming and going" (cf. Lao-tze's saying, "The Departing I call far away, the Far-away I call the Coming Home").

Change took place in Chaos, and movement toward *hsing*, or "form," began. Out of this moving change was *ch'i*, or "spirit" generated, and, likewise, *chih*, or "substance." From the evolution of these three came the material world of man. There was behind this evolution no personal, directive will with a conscious plan. Rather, the development was of the very nature of the potentiality of substance, form, and spirit. Potentiality possessed the power of evolution and realization. And this material world of man and the ten thousand things is the merely *phenomenal* realization of the various potentialities within original Chaos. In its eternal round of "coming and going" are heavenly souls and earthly bodies, creation, procreation and annihilation, life and death. Yet to Lieh-tze, who repudiates all distinctions, life and death, good and evil, here and there, coming and going, are in every instance one. To the wise man there is indiscriminate serenity amidst this world of change and revolution; the wise man lives "as if not living." Practically, this means that a living man is in this world a tenant marking time, while the true self is being realized. His true abode is elsewhere. While here, such characteristics as absent-mindedness, indifference, and ethical aloofness are virtuous and blessed. His philosophy is that of absolute identity; he is uncompromisingly monistic, an absolute idealist, a transcendentalist. Not illogically, it has been claimed that Lieh-tze had the power of riding on the wind. Without doubt, his head was always in the clouds. Such was his attitude toward the world, his

explanation of the universe, and his conquest over matter. He outdid his master.

CHUANG-TZE. The most brilliant Taoist was Chuang-tze (c. 350–275 B.C.). He glorified his master, and gloried in attacks upon Confucianists. While in the first objective he was pre-eminently successful, his attacks upon Confucianism failed. No Chinese has yet been able to transform the higher mind of his countrymen from moral, optimistic monism to metaphysical idealism. Chuang-tze took his cue from the later theories of Lao-tze, and followed the “Old Boy’s” example of denying himself the service of the state. Invited by a Duke to be his Prime Minister, Chuang-tze declined, with the remark that in such an office he would be like the sacrificial ox about to die, and that he would rather be a common turtle alive in the mud of its own local pond. Following the Master—more directly than did Lieh-tze—Chuang-tze’s central concept is the Tao. He, however, interpreted it as something yet more empty and transcendental. The Master talked of *wu*, or “nonexistence,” but Chuang-tze talked of *wu-wu*, or “nonexisting nonexistence”!

CHUANG-TZE’S TAO. There is nothing positive in his Tao, yet the Tao is the essence of all things. It is an empty Tao which is the essence of all things. Therefore, this phenomenal world is ultimately unreal. At best, it has *now* only a relative reality. It is a world of appearance only. There appear to be individuals and differences, but these are but illusion. All experience is illusion, and there are no criteria by which truly to discriminate. The real cannot be distinguished from the unreal. Existence is relative, and there is no value in discussing such things as colors, sounds, and individuals. No good can come of this in a realm of relative existence. Each apparent object obeys its own nature under guidance of the Tao residing in it. It is the Tao within which is real and worth knowing. If one truly knew the universal Tao, he would have no sense of difference, individuality, and the like.

The Tao does nothing. It has no bodily form. It cannot be perceived by the senses. It can be apprehended only by the mind, which is the undifferentiated, self-directing, and self-recognizing Tao. In the beginning was the Tao. From it, by no exertion of its own, came God, and Heaven, and Earth, and "the ten thousand things." It was before the Ultimate, and yet is not old; it is timeless. The mind may seem to apprehend it, and yet the mind by striving can neither define nor express it. "Think not and you will know the Tao; abide nowhere and you will rest in the Tao; go nowhere and you will obtain the Tao." Tao's creation and Tao's creatures have no means of knowing it; it must be *immediately* perceived.

This is pantheistic mysticism of a sort, or the mystical, immediate perception that all is One, without discrimination and division. This is a philosophy of absolute identity within the Tao. With what results for morals and religion? It breeds indifference to all forms and transformations. It obliterates all moral distinctions. There is no separableness of good and evil. Self is ignored and action is condemned. Common opinions are always wrong, or unreliable, and duty must give place to destiny. Man does not aim to live. He aims to nourish his soul with the Tao. His ultimate ideal is a dreamless sleep in an absolute state beyond this phenomenal world of relativity, motion, and illusion.

AN APOSTLE OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD. Mo-ti (also known as Mo-tze or Meh-tze) may be placed between Confucius and the Taoist Chuang-tze, nearer probably to the former, possibly from 470 to 390 B.C. He may have lived even earlier and have known Confucius. In point of view he falls somewhere between the two, making for some slight uncertainty as to the place to give him as a thinker.³ He seems actually to have been reared in the Confucian "school." It is, however, clear that he became dissatisfied with Confucian doctrine and swung away—shall we say *toward* Taoism? He is undoubtedly Taoistic in many of his major theories. However, if he and Lieh-tze were con-

temporaries, the two were representing divergent views of Taoism, Lieh-tze with his abstract emphasis on Chaos, Potentiality, and Change, and Mo-ti emphasizing ethics and religion.

Wherever we may place Mo-ti, we gather that he was the most religious of all the ancient thinkers. Perhaps he is the most religious Chinese thinker of all time. He linked his thought directly with the theistic tendencies of pre-Confucian China and in what he taught, indirectly indicates what progress China might have made in matters of religious faith, had not Confucius put his dominating stamp upon it. Mo-ti emphasized the commonly accepted virtues of *jen*, "benevolence," and *hsiao*, or "filial devotion," and went beyond all other Chinese teachers, before or after, with his doctrine of universal love. Mo-ti was a native of the state of Lu, and may have served in several states as a political adviser. He seems not to have been merely a theoretical recluse. We know little, however, of his life beyond the meager note in Ssema Ch'ien's *History* that he "was an official in the state of Sung, skilled in the art of defensive warfare, and a stern ascetic," that he lived simply in a modest house, ate the coarsest food, dressed in skin or grass clothing according to the season, and at death was buried in "a plain coffin of thin boards." This, after all, is a revelation of him, even to the thin boards of his coffin.

Mo-ti's writings have preserved a full account of his position on matters moral and religious. He reacted against the elaborate ceremonials of Confucian orthodoxy, against the extravagance and ostentation of funerals in particular. He considered such funeral ceremonies by the rich a waste of money which might be spent to better purpose on the living poor; when the poor had costly funerals, they merely forged the chains of debt and poverty. He caustically remarked that the time and money spent seemed strangely inconsistent with Confucian scepticism in religion. To which the Confucianists replied that Mo-ti was disregardful of and disrespectful to the proper claims of "filial devotion." Mo-ti criticized the place Confucius gave to music, taking issue

with the ancient theory that music was efficacious in good government. He attacked Confucianists for their frank materialism, for their undue application to affairs of politics, and for their crass uncertainty about the world of spirit. He believed in spirits, their existence, and their usefulness. But he seems to reason merely from the universal faith in spirits, and men's testimony that they have seen and heard them. He supports this argument by recourse to the records of the ancients who knew the spirits and revered them. He attacked the fatalism of Confucianism, holding it to lead to the "overthrow of righteousness in the world." He meant that fatalism leads to indolence, acquiescence in conditions essentially evil, and the submissive acceptance of preventable ills. Rather than submit to fate, Mo-ti would take the will of Heaven as his standard, and cooperate creatively with Heaven. "When I do what Heaven desires, Heaven will also do what I desire." "Heaven desires righteousness . . . likes to have the world live and not die, to have it rich and not poor, orderly and not disorderly." He thought of Heaven as creating, owning, nourishing, and loving all beings, a personal view characteristic of Sinæan times, which Confucius minimized, if not rejected.

Mo-ti was inspired by the "will of Heaven" and the "love of Heaven." He was eager to do "what Heaven desires," and to avoid "what Heaven abominates." And "the will of Heaven that is to be obeyed" is none other than "to love all the people in the world universally." He gave his thought to an all-inclusive universe: to Heaven above as God, to the middle realm of spiritual beings, and to the world of men and things below. For the world of men he had a message for the individual, the family, and the state. His great doctrine is universal love (*jen*). If everyone were to practice it and cooperate, all the evils of the social order (such as strife and confusion) would disappear. Universal love is in harmony with: (1) the spirit of the universe, (2) the teachings of the ancients, and (3) human experience at its best, *jen*, into which he reads the quality of "love." *Jen* was to him a quality of nature in itself; it was the one effective

method of the ancients and the key to human happiness on earth and eternal blessedness beyond. He once was criticized for saying that *jen* is "profitable," but he was no materialist. When he said "love pays" he did not have material gain in mind; he thought of human welfare. In like manner, he pointed out some things which did *not* "pay," such as war.

He urged men to cease from strife on the ground that they were all sons of Heaven, and strife was something Heaven abhors. Aggressive war did not pay, because it was contrary both to the will and to the love of Heaven. His pacifism was neither sentimental nor aesthetic. Probably it was frankly utilitarian. He was, as Ssema Ch'ien has said, an expert in defensive warfare. He wrote a treatise on fortification for defense. But aggressive war failed utterly in gaining any good end, whether to the victor or the vanquished. Aggressive war was "mutual hate" and "murder." To his credit, he actually prevented several wars. He held that "teaching which cannot be put into practice is not permanent."

Mo-ti was no quietist, but rather approved a strenuous life as contributing to the advancement of the race. In this he was no true Taoist. Nor was he truly Taoist in his failure to obliterate distinctions; he was Confucian in his willingness to make them, although he felt the making of them was a cause of evil. He was not indifferent, nor was he ethereally a mystic. On the contrary, his intense concern for human life led him to formulate economic theories which have been criticized as faulty. He was possibly too sternly an ascetic, and thus too much a *negative materialist*. He had a certain economic motive which may have gone far to destroy, for the time, the obvious good of his moral and religious teachings. There is evidence that he held the theory, amazing for his day, that the earth rotates! But this is incidental to his more serious discussion of alchemy and the manipulation of the "five elements," in the truly Taoist vein. This may be why the Taoists preserved his writings and included them within their catalogues.

Great thinkers, as we have seen, have been found among the adherents of Taoism. It is not surprising, therefore, that the higher Taoism has usually had an honored place. At times it has enjoyed royal patronage, having been in the period immediately following 212 B.C. the state religion. As early as 156 B.C. men began to worship Lao-tze as a god. In the seventh century A.D. he was officially canonized as "Emperor." A century thereafter copies of his *Tao Teh Ching* were distributed at the Emperor's direction. Because of its lofty mysticism, expressed in literature of rare charm, the higher Taoism has lived and still lives in the hearts of the Chinese with a vitality that cannot be easily destroyed.

On the other hand, Taoism has been often persecuted, whether by the state or by the masses. Sometimes it has been in disfavor because of its critical attitude toward the power of a centralized government. In modern times the magical developments in Taoism's later, lower form have brought the religion into great disrepute. On both grounds the present Communist regime in China has carried out against Taoist associations a policy of merciless extermination. Campaigns against Taoist societies were opened in 1950 and 1951. In 1953 P'eng Chen reported that more than "4,000,000 duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies."⁴ Continued resistance from Taoist sects was reported in the Communist press in 1954, but the numbers involved grew increasingly less, and it is reasonable to suppose that Taoism of this type has been eliminated.

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Chapter 6

JAPAN AND RELIGION

For many centuries the Japanese have exhibited an unusually persistent national character and sense of unity. The form of government has often changed throughout the centuries. The Japanese have had a profound conviction of divinity: in themselves, their islands, and their institutions. This fundamental character of the Empire expressed itself in various forms, such as the Imperial dynasty and a long dynastic succession from the gods. The essential was not government, nor religion, nor any form. *Kokutai*—the *solidarity of the nation* persisting through the centuries—was the essential. Parties, clans, and tribes might fiercely contend, the sects might brawl, but *kokutai* outlived contentions, indeed modified and softened them, and directed the nation toward its destiny. This is what is meant by the “spirit of Japan.”¹ The Japanese call this spirit *kokutai*, the genius of the country.

This spirit of Japanese life still persists, even after the disastrous defeat suffered in World War II, the disestablishment of the national Shinto cult by Allied directive on December 15, 1945, and the words of the emperor himself on January 1, 1946 when he supported the demands of the occupation authorities, disavowed his own divinity, and urged the Japanese people to base their loyalty not on ancient myths and legends but upon a common devotion to their country. A contemporary Japanese writer has described the special circumstances, with their blending of nationalism and religious tradition, which have produced this spirit of Japan.

In a sense, Japan has always been a “national” state. With no interruption it has been a nation of one people through more than two thousand years. Not one among the empires of Europe and Asia

escaped internal territorial and racial conflicts, but Japan did. As anthropologists point out, the Japanese nation is compounded of various strains, but even as early as the "period of the gods," a single Yamato people had developed a belief in a common ancestry. Earlier there had been two dominant peoples, the Yamato and the Izumo, who set up rival states, but the Yamato absorbed the Izumo, and the legendary ancestors of both were united in the great shrines of Ise and Izumo, where they are still worshipped today.

The Japanese, held together by belief in a common ancestry, were never conquered by another people. And Japan lost her sphere of influence in Korea in ancient times, so that "imperialism" had no chance to show itself until our day, either as imposed from abroad or as launched by the Japanese themselves. Japan resembled, politically and socially, an advanced development of the primitive clan-state.²

Shinto is the native, indigenous element in the religious life of the Japanese, an outgrowth of time-honored folkways and folk-beliefs. Its roots reach back to the period before written history. A recent interpreter of Japanese religious life comments:

Nearly one half of the population in Japan live in rural villages, and their life both in the home and in the neighborhood is completely interwoven with religious elements. The life-cycle, the family round, the food-cycle, the village concerns, all are orchestrated to the pitch and control of religion. Whether we call this Shinto or not, it has the same historic roots; in most instances, it uses the same shrines or sacred places, and the ceremonies are the same.³

In the beginning, Shinto was primarily nature-worship and not ancestor-worship, an element of religious life brought in at a later time with Confucianism and Buddhism. Imported beliefs and practices were superimposed upon this early national faith of the Japanese. For over a thousand years Buddhism has been outwardly the major religion of the Japanese. Yet all this time the underlying, characteristically Japanese way of life has persisted. There was a revival of "Old Shinto" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the influence of scholars like Motoöri who scorned the view that Japanese life was dependent upon Chinese culture and called for a return to the "An-

cient Way." One feature of this revival was promulgation of the doctrine of the divine origin of the Japanese ruling house by edict of the goddess, Amaterasu-Omikami.⁴ In modern times, beginning with the early years of the Meiji period (1868-1912), a deliberate attempt was made to create out of Shinto a national cult. In 1882, a division was made by law separating Shrine Shinto, known in the West as State Shinto, from sect or religious Shinto. The purpose of Shrine Shinto, with its one hundred thousand shrines under the supervision of the Home Ministry, was chiefly political rather than religious. In the words of a contemporary Japanese author, "Its function was to enhance the glory of the state and foster worship of the Emperor; hence it was known in the Occident as "State Shinto."⁵ State Shinto, with its adoration of the Emperor and daily instruction of millions of students in the schools, was given financial support by the government, while sectarian Shinto was placed in the same category with Buddhism and Christianity and left to its own resources. A comparatively modern feature of the national cult is the enshrining and deification of the war dead in the great sanctuary on Kudan Hill in Tokyo. Here all the spirits of the war-dead are believed to assemble; here each of the dead in battle has been memorialized by name; to this place bereaved families come from all over Japan. It is not that the ashes of the war dead have been interred here; it is rather that their souls, now raised to the place of divinity, exist here.⁶ This sanctuary is today an important religious center in Japan and a possible source of danger in case the spirit of nationalism in Japan again overruns its bounds.

JAPANESE CHARACTER. The Japanese have been a docile, teachable race, knowing how to make the most of their resources. They have absorbed many diverse elements, except the aboriginal Ainu. Peaceful Chinese and Koreans came and were assimilated. Culture and religion entered, and were welcome. But in the complex process something more than insulation dominated. There was a predisposing

racial element, and a dominating spirit. The "Yamato" men formed the nucleus of the social order, and engendered *Yamato-damashii*, "the spirit of Yamato" (Japan).

The Yamato men gathered power first in the central region of the main island, Honshu or Hondo. They had vigor and docility, capacity for conquest and administration, and they gradually unified the one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of grass-clad, flowery islands washed by protecting waters, and comparatively easy of defense from foreign foes. They breathed the spirit and generated the religion which went to make the national genius. In *Shin-koku*, the "land of the gods," *Shin-to*, the "way of the gods," was promulgated. Shinto is a compound and a distillation of the beauty visible in Japan's blue waters and gorgeously tinted sunsets; her broken lines of seashore, quaint lakes in woodland stretches, and the gentle, fertile slopes of scattered mountains; her mild climate which favored life in the open; and her people's own qualities of mind and heart, responsive to the advantages of their situation.

RELIGIONS. The main divisions of Japanese faith today are Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity. It should be made clear that Christianity is not in the same class with Shinto and Buddhism numerically. It numbers only about 0.5 percent of the population. Yet its influence upon present-day Japan is out of proportion to the number of its adherents. Confucianism is a leaven rather than a body. In addition, there are numerous syncretistic cults, combining elements of various religions. Buddhism came in the sixth century A.D. from Korea, bringing its arts and literature and quickening the native religious impulses. It brought in priestly morals with religious institutions. It came in an idealistic, peaceful, even receptive, mood. Forms of Confucianism may have come prior to the Buddhists' entrance, but the *Ju-chiao* as such came as part of the general flow of Chinese culture introduced by Buddhism. It brought civic morality, legal institutions, and educational methods; it gave conceptions of ethical loyalty and filial piety. It cared little for religious dogma, and was willing to accom-

moderate its practical ethics to Japanese requirements. Taoism, too, was probably not without influence in Japan. Christianity reached Japan in 1549 through Jesuit missionaries. Shinto sects are late phenomena in Japan. According to the 1953 statistics of the Japanese Ministry of Education, the population was divided religiously as follows: Shinto, 70,044,623; Buddhism, 43,637,000; Christianity, 415,081; others, 2,945,909, giving a total of approximately 117,000,000. This surprising figure—twenty million more than the population of Japan—is accounted for partly by dual adherence and partly by the fact that there is no individual membership system in Buddhism or Shinto. "Buddhist totals usually represent the number of households whose ancestral graves or tablets are in a temple's custody, multiplied by five. Shinto shrines generally base their reports on such factors as the number of charms and amulets sold."⁷ In the sense indicated above, however, all Japanese are Shintoists.

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Chapter 7.

SHINTO

Shinto, the "gods' way," is Japan's original national religion. Certain foreign elements have entered into the religious life of the Japanese. For example, the "way of Buddha" dominated conscious religious devotion for a thousand years (from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries A.D.), but Shinto endured subconsciously during the entire millennium, subtly forceful, and ultimately triumphant once again through official and popular revival. Shinto is scarcely yet a system; it never had a founder. It is, as a religion, of the very nature and processes of Japanese mentality.

The name, Shinto, is borrowed from the Chinese *shen-tao*, "the way of the gods." After the *Butsu-do*, the "Buddha way," had reached Japan, the designation "Shinto" was given to the native cult to distinguish it from Buddhism. The term thus came in with continental culture, with the movement which ultimately gave Japan her written language, with many foreign words embedded in it, her initial literature, and many novel institutions. When the Japanese, obedient to their national consciousness, began to use their own indigenous expressions, *kami-no-michi*, the "way of the gods (*kami*)," came to stand along with *shinto*, or to take its place. *Kami*, with certain minor variations in the meaning of the word, was the Chinese *shen*, and *michi* was the Chinese *tao*. The "way" of the *kami* of the sixth century A.D. was analogous in its simplicity to the way of the *shen* of the sixth century B.C. In contrast with the *Butsu-do* (the Chinese *Fo-chiao*), the *kami-no-michi* has retained through the centuries comparative simplicity both in ritual and creed, whether in formal temple worship, or in the worship of the home. Shinto—we shall consistently call

it such—met alien Buddhism in friendly struggle, asserting its self-consciousness passively but effectively.

Torii. The casual observer of today may find on every hand the distinctive outward symbol of Shinto, the *torii*. The *torii* is as conspicuously the Shinto symbol as the pagoda is for Buddhists, or the minaret for Muslims. It is a plain-timbered gateway which stands alone, generally above the path of entrance to a shrine. It is made of two large, equal, upright pillars, connected just below their upper ends by a horizontal cross-beam, and having a second, longer, horizontal beam laid across, and projecting beyond, the upper ends. Sometimes a block is fitted in at the center between the horizontal beams. The design of many *torii* (the word itself is either singular or plural) has varied from this simplest original pattern under the influence of the ornate Chinese *pailow* or memorial arch, and the elaborate Buddhist *torana*¹ or gateway, to the *stupa* or funeral mound with its relic of the Buddha. Under such influence the upper cross-beam sometimes curves on its two supports; or, if it lies straight between the pillars, its two ends curve or roll upwards. Sometimes, unusually, the wood is colored; at a shrine of the Shinto fox-god, the *torii* is often red with paint or lacquer. Sometimes the *torii* is made of stone or metal instead of wood.

The original *torii* may have been a roost for fowls, in preservation of an ancient legend: a tradition says that fowls were set crowing on a roost outside the cave into which the national sun-goddess had retired in petulance. Men wished to convince her that the dawn had come in spite of her own failure to appear! According to another view, the first *torii* may have been used for suspending the birds offered in sacrifice to the sun-goddess and the gods. The arch was placed at first anywhere about the shrine. Its regular position is today at the front, perhaps because of Buddhist influence. A *torii* stands at every entrance gateway to a Shinto shrine; there may be many in a row along the way which leads from court to court through many of the larger sanctuaries.

What now of the Shinto shrine? There is a variation in size and rank among the many thousand shrines. There are modest, officially "unrecognized" shrines scattered along the roadsides. Then there are village shrines and in the larger towns shrines of higher grade. In addition, there are state or provincial shrines. Greatest of all are the national shrines of Idzumo at Kidzuki² (at the northwestern edge of the main island of Hondo, or Honshu), and of Ise in Yamada, near the southern coast of Ise Bay, off the Inland Sea. The Ise shrines are the most pretentious, extensive, and revered, although those at Kidzuki rest upon a far more ancient site of worship, and still vie with the two at Ise in their claim to sanctity. All these types of shrines are "public." As for purely "private" shrines, called *miya*, their number is incalculable. They are of the household, and are often portable. They vary in design and size from the small *miya* of white wood in the humble laborer's hut to the beautiful, miniature shrines in the residences of the wealthy. Many *miya* are carried in processions and otherwise displayed on Shinto holidays.

TYPES OF SHINTO. As there are grades of Shinto shrines, so are there types of Shinto faith. Shinto never was exclusively a patriotic spirit. It has had its definite sectarian divisions, as well as its official public character and its domestic cult. Its sects developed during the latter days of Shinto's long subservience to Buddhism and have served in competition with Buddhist sects. The threefold division of Shinto into State (now called Shrine) Shinto, domestic, and sectarian cults is not an absolute distinction, but it represents the wide range of the order from a national spirit to a religion with both creed and works. State Shinto and the domestic cult have been the same in quality, save that, whereas the latter is an unorganized complex of primitive beliefs and offices, the former until 1946 represented the national centering of traditional elements in the sun-goddess as the supreme deity of Japan. The State cult provided a place of extraordinary merit and of conspicuously high regard for the succession of emperors, or Mikados, as

Amaterasu's divine descendants. In this way Shinto expressed itself in relation to the social and political development of the national life and in reaction against the presence and effects of foreign (especially Chinese) institutions. Prior to the end of World War II there were thirteen officially registered sects of Shinto with a total of eighteen million adherents. However, since the disestablishment of State Shinto and the introduction of complete religious freedom which followed the end of the war, a large number of new religions have arisen in Japan, over six hundred of them. Some of these are chiefly Shinto in character, and thus must be accounted for in any contemporary discussion of sectarian Shinto; others are Buddhist, Muslim, Christian, or a combination of two or more of these.³

THE STATE CULT. What Shinto has meant as *Yamato damashii*, or *kokutai*, or the national spirit and cult, may be understood by a visit to the shrines of Ise. At one end lies the park in which the *Geku*, or the "Outer Shrine," is situated, dedicated to the food-goddess (*Toyo-uke-Daijin*), daughter of Izanagi and Izanami, the divine parents of things Japanese. At the other rises in its ampler park the holier *Naiku*, or "Inner Shrine," dedicated to the sun-goddess (Amaterasu) and the divine ancestors of the Emperor. Each park contains a wood of aged and lofty evergreen cryptomerias, in which the simple buildings stand in perfect harmony with their setting. The buildings are extremely simple, in striking contrast with the sacred structures of several other faiths, including Buddhism, which have indulged in costliness of materials and magnificence of design and workmanship. In fact, they are so perishable that they are renewed every twenty years. Each building is rectangular, stands on pillars driven directly into the soil, is made of white, unpainted cedar (*hinoki*) wood, and roofed with a thatch of rushes, or of cedar bark. The simplicity of each is broken by no decorative effects, unless by means of outer railings which enclose verandahs, by the projection above the comb of the roof of the two pairs of end rafters, and by little logs resting horizontally at short

intervals at right angles across the comb. These simple shrines, built in natural wooded places, preserve the atmosphere of the primitive religion. At both Ise shrines are buildings of various, even non-religious, purposes, but in each group the holiest structure is the house of the deity, whether the sun-goddess or the food-goddess.

The sanctuary of the sun-goddess is a four-fold inclosure within a 164-acre park. In this park are many impressive objects, including grim memorials of Japan's struggles with the Russians and the Chinese. There is a tall shaft in the form of a shattered cannon commemorating the battle of the Japan Sea, and a Krupp gun taken from the Russians at Port Arthur. Such relics within the sacred area are suggestive of the nationalistic quality of Shinto. Through the first inclosure of the shrine runs a stream in which devotees and pilgrims may attend to their ceremonial ablutions. In the second compound stand a stable for the sacred horse, a booth with a stock of charms, amulets, and mementos for sale, and a hall for sacred dancing. In the innermost, which is a double inclosure, stands the holy place of the goddess herself, accessible to none but priests and properly authorized officials and notables. This is Shinto's holy of holies, in whose veiled interior the goddess dwells with her holy relics, the "divine imperial regalia." These are a mirror, a sword, and a string of jewels. There is no image of her Majesty; Shinto has never been idolatrous. The mirror, round, metallic, and highly polished, is her peculiar symbol. It is kept wrapped in silk in a casket of flawless *hinoki* wood. It is the dearest relic of Japan: it has come down out of a remote, mysterious past, bestowed by the sun-goddess herself upon an early ancestor of the race. It symbolizes the unbroken succession of divine rulers descended from the goddess; it reflects the likeness of the goddess; it is the reflection of her very soul; and it is protective of the nation.

SYMBOLISM. This mirror at Ise is reputed to have been enshrined there by the Emperor Suinin in 4 B.C. He brought to Ise the sword, a fabulous weapon found by the storm-

god, Susa-no-wo, in the tail of a destroying dragon which he slew. This dragon sword, however, did not remain at Ise. It was borrowed by a famous princely hero sent by the Emperor Keiko Tenno about A.D. 100 against some "eastern barbarians." This hero-prince took the sword for his own protection on the hazardous journey and for the sake of victory. When he returned, safe and victorious, he entrusted it to the custodian of the Atsuta shrine in Owari. Once thereafter it was taken back to Ise, where it wrought many miracles for those who prayed to it, but afterwards it was deposited permanently at Owari. In its place at Ise rests a replica, which is venerated—as is the original weapon at Owari—as the symbol of the "severe spirit" of the sun-goddess, whereas the mirror, and its replicas elsewhere, represent the "gentle spirit" of the goddess. The third of the "divine relics," the string of jewels, is represented at Ise in replica. The original set rests at Tokyo in "The Sword and Jewel Room" of the emperor's palace. They are rounded, kidney-shaped objects (*magatama* or "curved jewels") of precious stone, such as the ancient Japanese delighted to use for personal adornment, and which they fancied were used by their deities, also. The *Kojiki* mention the gods bedecked with "jingling ornaments." These regalia jewels were handed down from "the age of the gods." They were bestowed upon the goddess in the beginning by Izanagi himself, the sky-father. She, in turn, bestowed them, with the mirror and the sword which were then in her possession, upon her "august grandson," the founder on her behalf of the Japanese Empire. They are now kept "in a marked casket as a talisman to protect each generation of sovereigns" of Japan.

These regalia objects of Shinto belonged originally to powerful deities. They were full of the potency (*mana*) by which these deities ruled the Plain of Heaven and all else besides. Having been bestowed by the gods upon the emperors, their creatures and descendants, they have since symbolized divine authority in government. They represent the attributes of rulers by divine right. The mirror

stands for purity, righteousness, integrity, and wisdom. The jewels stand for benevolence, gentleness, obedience, and affection. The sword is a symbol of valor, sagacity, firmness, and justice.⁴

The regalia in the Inner Shrine at Ise, the mirror, the sword, and the jewels are deemed endowed with miraculous power to heal the body, purify the mind, and to bestow on men prosperity, happiness, and peace. Therein is the shrine possessed of most unusual sanctity and, through the sacred mirror, the very "presence" of the goddess. In the Outer Shrine, seat of the food-goddess, are her own peculiar symbols. She holds her seat by invitation of the great sun-goddess herself, who long ago summoned her to Ise. She dwells in her own holy place, a spacious park with its gateways, groves, inclosures, and buildings only less pretentious than the sanctuary of the sun-goddess, whose brightness she has shared. There are other deities as well at Ise, but we will view them later in the general Shinto pantheon. The other symbols at Ise we may notice now, for they fill out the essential Shinto situation. On the altar tables, and elsewhere, stand *gohei* or *nusa*, upright wands, sometimes tufted, representing branches of the sacred *sakaki* tree (the *cleyera Japonica*). Strips of notched paper usually hang from these *gohei*. These strips are modern conventionalized substitutes for the bast cloth (cloth made of the inner fiber of *sakaki*, or other bark) which was hung in ancient times on the boughs of sacred trees as offerings to the gods. The *sakaki tree*, especially dear to the sun-goddess, is associated directly with her in myth and worship. In one version of the hidden sulking of the goddess, the scene enacted by the gods before the cave into which she had fled includes this sacred tree. According to this version, the deity Ame-no-Koyane dug up a five-hundred-branched "true *sakaki* tree of heaven," and hung on its higher branches the string of "curved jewels," on its middle branches the mirror, and on the lower branches strips of bast cloth. The company then recited a liturgy in honor of the sun; Ame-no-Koyane arrayed herself, kindled a fire,

danced, and gave forth inspired utterances; heaven shook; all the deities laughed loudly; and the sun-goddess at last peered out in curiosity and wonder, and was captured! Thus runs the myth of the coming of light to the world, whose glory and beneficence are symbolized in the sacred mirror.

RITUAL. Let us look at Shinto ritual within the sanctuary of Ise. There are generally daily offerings of drink and uncooked food: saucers of rice and salt, and trays of fish, birds, fruit, seaweed, and vegetables; and cups of *sake* or rice-brew. The deities delight in gifts of what is necessary and pleasing to mankind. The offerings are a service of thanksgiving, rather than of supplication. Through its appointed servitors the State expresses its gratitude to the gods for their aid. At certain times the services are in expiation of the national guilt. While the gods have often saved the nation in extremity, they have also sent down calamity as a punishment for national sin. How often indeed has Japan met with calamity, with earthquake, tidal wave, or fire! The ceremonial is simple. The offerings are brought forward one after the other, a ritual is recited, and the offerings are removed. The priests who bear them glide in and out with noiseless steps. On occasion, dances are performed within the Inner Shrine to the accompaniment, in a separate building, of song and instrumental music. The dance is always a simple, rhythmic glide; the music is that of chanting. The ceremonial of the State cult is always marked by grave solemnity.

THE GREAT PURIFICATION. On great festival occasions the ceremonial is quite elaborate, although even then remarkably pure, in strict solemnity, and with motives such as characterize the daily rites. The most solemn ceremony of Shrine Shinto is the Great Purification, a national atonement for "sins and pollutions," and for the cleansing away of "old shapes of foul disease." It is celebrated at Ise, Kidzuki, and elsewhere twice yearly, and in connection with enthronement exercises; and all Shintoists, in fact, all members of the several communities, are expected to attend.⁵

The rite is performed in homage to the gods, especially the sun-goddess. It includes a water-sprinkling, the waving of the *gohei*, and the use of human effigies made of rice-straw. These effigies, representing the sinful worshipers, are thrown at last into the stream, the lake, or the ocean. While the whole ceremonial is marked by an impressive, archaic sobriety, it is in essence and motive an annual purging. Shinto teaches by this rite the consciousness of communal guilt and the social obligation of repentance. The emperor, by virtue of the authority descended to him from the sun-goddess, himself pronounces the absolution of the impurities and sins of his ministers and the people. The ritual reminds one that when "the mighty words of the celestial rites" are recited, and the gods have heard, "all offenses whatsoever will be annulled." As cleanliness of person is a habit of the Japanese, so their cult of Shinto enjoins purity of heart. One writer in the "Shinto Pentateuch" has said that "what pleases the Deity is virtue and sincerity, and not any number of material offerings." The author of the *Shinto-Shoden-Kuju* declares that purification is "not merely the cleansing of one's body solely with lustral water," but "following the moral way."

SCRIPTURES. Shinto has its scriptures in which the stories of the *kami* may be found. There are two, in particular, the *Ko-ji-ki* or *Ancient Time Chronicle*, and the *Nihon-gi* or *Japan Chronicle*. Both are filled with mythological lore, in spite of the fact that the former was compiled as late as A.D. 712, and the latter in 720. A third work, the *Engi-shiki*, or "*Origin of Rites*," is later still, having been written in the tenth century A.D. It records the details of ancient Shinto ritual, with prayers for various occasions. A fourth book, fourth in point of value, the *Manyo-shu*, comes from the ninth century. It constitutes the oldest collection of Japanese poems, with a few details of ritual, and some allusions to beliefs. These four are the Shinto sacred writings.

THEOLOGY. We now return to the gods, the *kami*. Shinto has an interesting theology. There is not only "the Great Deity" of Ise, but myriads of gods besides. The

Engi-shiki refers to "myriads." The eighteenth-century reformer, Hirata, thought in terms of "the eight hundred myriads of celestial gods, the fifteen hundred myriads of gods" of various shrines, "the gods of branch-shrines," and so forth. Each region and community has had its own divinities. Frequently, one deity has gone by different names in different places. A few deities have been known and worshiped, each by its own proper name, throughout the whole "Great Land of the Eight Islands." All these deities were manifestly nature powers in their origin, but there is nothing to show that any confined itself to its primary nature function. One might perform the appropriate function of another. Among the "myriads," a small number of the gods were, of course, the most effective.

In early Shinto there seems not to have been one god who was supreme. Heaven itself was not a god, as T'ien was in early China. The Shinto heaven was but the region where the gods resided. The sun-goddess was the most important deity, but her powers were not unlimited. There is evidence that there were gods before her. In fact, the myth accounts for several generations of celestial spirits which came spontaneously out of primeval chaos, and vanished later on. The last of the series were Izana-gi and Izana-mi, male and female, but with a merely formal distinction in sex, which plays no important part either in the myth or in the Shinto cult. These two powers descended from the "plain of high heaven," united, and gave birth first to many objects, such as islands, waters, winds, fields, food, and fire. All the things which they produced were *kami*. They produced, also, the "three noble children," the sun, the moon, and the storm. Or, as another version has it, Izana-gi alone produced these children: the sun from one eye, the moon from the other, and the storm-god from his nostrils, as he purified himself from the pollution of a visit to the underworld. Whatever their origin, these three stand at the head of the Shinto pantheon: the sun-goddess, Amaterasu, the moon-god, Tsuki-yomi, and the storm-god, Susa-no-wo. The fire-god, Homusubi, also known as Kagutuchi, was born

of Izana-mi who thereby lost her life. To the divine couple, Izana-gi and Izana-mi, were born the great earth-god Onamuji (Ohonamochi), whose shrine is at Kidzuki; the food-goddess, Toyo-uke or Ukemuji, who shares the shrine at Ise; and many gods of the sea, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, and the home. The greatest, however, of all the divine progeny are Amaterasu and Susa-no-wo, the former presiding over all the realm of light, and the latter ruling over the ocean and the realm of hidden things. From the pairing of these two—or else by the spontaneous conception of the sun-goddess alone and by a sort of virgin-birth—came the “divine grandson” Ninigi, the immediate ancestor of the earthly Jimmu Tenno and of the succession of Mikados. Shinto myth has much to say about these two deities. They were often in conflict, but the sun-goddess at last won the sovereignty of earth, as well as of heaven. She has thus assumed the leading role in Japanese religion. The affairs of earth she gave over to her august descendants, the Mikados, who, with their people, have since held her in the highest regard, both as Divine Ancestress and as Supreme Deity.

MORALITY. Pure Shinto, as the old religious “spirit of Japan,” was simple in its ethics, as well as in ideas and in worship. The *kami-no-michi* was, ethically, the natural way, the theory of life according to nature. However, since the disestablishment of the State cult in 1945, there has been an attempt to develop a system of theology and ethics around Shrine Shinto. While we may look in vain in the ancient Shinto books of “history” and ritual for a moral *code*, for any moral instruction, or for any moralizing reflections upon history, we may know that the ancient Japanese had a morality corresponding with their plane of culture. The Great Purification is sufficient proof. The earliest “great purification of the land,” mentioned in the *Kojiki*, is at once testimony to the presence of a certain moral sense, and to the primitive quality of this sense. The “line is drawn” in a very naïve manner; “heavenly offenses” and “earthly offenses” are distinguished and enumerated. Shinto

commentators say that the former offenses were so called because first committed *in heaven* by the god Susa-no-wo. Among these offenses were skinning alive, breaking down the divisions between rice-fields, filling up irrigation ditches, marriage between unequals, and human intercourse with beasts. Among the "earthly offenses" are listed the cutting of living, or dead, bodies, the killing of animals, and the intercourse of a man with his mother, daughter, mother-in-law, or step-daughter. No gradations are observed; these are all equal crimes against both gods and men. As time went on, however, a process of development got under way, and a more acute and discriminating moral sense was generated.

ALIEN INFLUENCES. Shinto has been subjected, from time to time, to higher influences from without. In spite of the resistance which these alien forces met, some modifications have been effected by them. Under the influence of Confucian and of Buddhist morality, virtues and vices became more distinct, and "purification" became more than ceremonial; yet Shinto preserved even under Buddhist pressure a Confucian sense of man's innate goodness and self-dependence. Three ideas were prominent in old Shinto: (1) sacrifice and prayers, expiatory and in thanksgiving, in connection with the food supply; (2) concern for the government as identified both with the welfare and religion of the land; and (3) the dread of pollution which, if incurred, could be removed only through incantation and magical ritual. Civilizing effects came with the foreign religions. Buddhism alone brought highly developed doctrines, elaborate ceremonial, and art, whose effects were soon felt, although Shinto has scarcely kept pace with the progress of the resultant Japanese civilization. Under Chinese influence the utilitarian character of Japan manifested aesthetic qualities. The Japanese cult of the natural developed into a cult of the beautiful. Japan was more easily won to aesthetic than to moral standards of conduct, although it cannot be said that she ever submitted to the dominance of the aesthetic to the extent China did. It has been

inconsistent with Japan's prevailing mood to yield political place to music and art. Shinto's cult of beauty took its place *beside* Shinto's cult of loyalty, not instead of it. While Japan has given extraordinary expression to the artistic temperament, this expression has been for her a pleasure wholly consistent with her theory of the state. Japan has had her soldier-scholars and her soldier-artists.

Shinto has afforded womanhood a position higher than that which she has held in China. It is a corollary of the Japanese notion of divinity and of the moral sense that men and women should be equal. Women figure with unusual prominence in Japanese history, including many priestesses and many who have been Mikados. Amaterasu, of course, is female.

CULT OF ANCESTORS. Old Shinto was, in the beginning, a comparatively primitive worship of the powers of nature as gods, who were humanized and were thought of in terms of human social experience; it became also a cult of ancestral spirits. This latter phase is a later development, and not an original element in Japanese religion. There was in ancient Japan no sufficiently clear realization of the family to warrant an assumption that ancestor-worship was primordial. Worship of the family or clan gods is not ancient, for the family and the clan are not ancient. The common people, at least, made in ancient times no pretense of divine parentage, and the peculiar form of the Japanese ancestral cult, namely the cult of the sun-goddess as Divine Ancestress, waited upon the institution of the Imperial dynasty. There was no Mikado-worship in ancient times, because there was no Mikado in the later sense of the term, nor any central and supreme government. The history of the concept of soul suggests that the idea is a comparatively late development. It seems fair to assume that the ancestor cult is a direct result of Chinese influence.

Ancestor-worship was, however, readily assimilated with the worship of nature-powers, whether with reference to the family, the tribe, or the Imperial dynasty, but the extent to which it developed as "Mikadoism" is peculiarly

Japanese, distinct from Chinese theory and practice. The ultimate ground of the error which places ancestor-worship and nature-worship side by side as coeval in Japanese religion is the inference drawn from the character of the sun-goddess as both natural object (the sun) and personified power (the ancestress of the race). The first Mikado was not "the heavenly grandchild" until the era in which the Shinto sacred books were composed in Chinese ideographs under Chinese influence. He had been before that scarcely more than what the poet Waller meant by his phrase, "the sonne of Heaven," applied to James II. The Chinese impulse, manifested then in the worship of Confucius and of Lao-tze, inspired the Japanese, also. The Mikado Ojin (third century A.D.) became a deity under the name of Hachiman, the war-god, whose symbol was the dove. The *Nihon-gi* declares the Emperor (any emperor) to be "incarnate deity." By the tenth century offerings similar to those made to nature deities were made to deceased Mikados. The whole "eternally enduring dynasty" was linked at last with the Divine Ancestress. As late as 1889 an article of the Japanese Constitution declares the Emperor's person to be "sacred and inviolable."

THE DOMESTIC CULT. We need say little here about the domestic cult, other than to give a brief description of its forms, for in essence it partakes of the qualities of the national cult.⁶ The rites are very simple. In a room of each house is a "god-shelf," the *kami-dana*, on which stand tablets, or strips of paper, inscribed with the names of special deities, such as the sun-goddess, the food-goddess, or the god of a particular occupation or locality. There may be the small shrine known as *miya*, containing a "presence" (mirror), along with pieces of sacred rice-straw, bits of rice-cake from a public shrine, holy texts, and charms. These are the stock of the domestic cult. Ideally, daily devotion is performed before the *kami-dana* by the offering of a prayer.

The following account of domestic religious life comes from postwar Japan.

The average Japanese is a polytheist, or more exactly a henotheist. He usually gives first allegiance to the local Buddhist temple or Shinto shrine, but he is aware of the protective power of other divine beings. Furthermore, it is the religion of the family rather than the personal creed which is considered primary in community life.

Thus, a newborn baby is usually taken to a Shinto shrine for a simple religious service, but should it die, the funeral would probably be Buddhist. In the majority of homes, a Buddhist altar and the *kami-dana* (sacred shelf) of Shinto, may be found side by side. And on that shelf, initially dedicated to the tutelary deity, there may be a charm of Ise to honor the divine ancestor of the Imperial Family. A child entering school is taken to the local Shinto shrine dedicated to a famous scholar. When a couple is to be married, a priest is called from another shrine regarded as especially propitious for successful marriage. When sickness develops, the average Japanese, although he calls a local doctor, will not fail to visit a nearby Buddhist temple or Shinto shrine noted for its efficacious charms, and on the way, visit a private priest who specializes in exorcism and healing by magical rites. On anniversaries of the deaths of relatives, he will set up a photograph surrounded by flowers, food offerings, and an incense pot, before which the family gathers while a Buddhist priest repeats passages from a sacred text. Funerals are held at the temples and a fee is paid to the temple for prayer and scripture-reading for the repose of the dead. These mixtures represent a differentiation of functions, not contradictions, and shrines and temples have almost always existed peacefully side by side.⁷

REVIVAL. In the nineteenth century the Shinto sects took definite form. There are now thirteen of them, each recognized by the national government as "religions," and registered in the Bureau of Religions of the State Department of Education. Altogether, they maintain thousands of chapels and preaching-places, and have in great numbers their own ministers or priests. Although it was not until 1871 that the Japanese Government drew the theoretical (or political?) line between Shrine Shinto as "non-religious" and sect Shinto as "religious," thereby forcing the sects to stand apart and maintain themselves as independent bodies, sectarian Shinto arose first out of the eighteenth-century effort to revive "Pure Shinto" as opposed to Confucian and Buddhist culture and religion. Patriotic scholars strove to revive interest in the ancient national literature, such as the *Ko-ji-ki* and the *Nihon-gi*, which had been for

long neglected. This revival assumed under Motoöri (1730–1801) a religious character. He bitterly resented the presence of Chinese elements, apparently oblivious to the great value of many of them, and exalted the old deities and forms of worship in a spirit of ardent patriotism. He reiterated in emphatic terms the divine character of the successive Mikados, and of “all things whatsoever which deserve to be dreaded and revered for the extraordinary and pre-eminent powers which they possess.” He declared all foreign countries, especially China and India, to be outside the “special domain of the sun-goddess,” and fields where evil spirits operate that corrupt mankind. His pupil, Hirata (1776–1843), carried on with great effectiveness, writing hundreds of books and delivering innumerable lectures on behalf of old Shinto. He gave such prominence to the sovereign rights of the divine Mikados that the Shogun or “General,” who was *de facto* ruler, banished him. It was fundamental with him that Japan is the country of the gods, and her inhabitants the children of the gods, that between the Japanese and other peoples there is a difference of kind, the Japanese being immeasurably superior to others in courage, intelligence, honesty, and uprightness of heart. Hirata’s ardent nationalism did not prevent, however, his acceptance of certain foreign elements, such as belief in the immortality of the soul (Buddhist) and the duty of filial piety (Confucian). While this revival directed attention to indigenous elements in Japanese culture, the intellectual and moral poverty of primitive Shinto demanded further consideration of foreign values which had already served to enrich the common life.

SECTS. Against the background of this revival, and indirectly related to it, Shinto made many attempts to become a religion which would satisfy men’s hunger of heart for personal communion with the divine. Many sects arose with this end in view, and while they have been despised by Buddhists and national Shintoists alike, they have numbered their adherents by the millions. Some sects have come and gone with amazing suddenness; others have come slowly

and slowly decayed; new sects have recently arisen; and a few of the older sects are influential still.

THE KUROZUMI SECT. Consider the Kurozumi-kyo (the sect of Kurozumi). The founder was a man of many different names, according to the stages of his life, but he was known at last as Munetada. He was a scion of the Kurozumi family of the related group of Fujiwaras, born December 21, 1780, in a village known as "quiet hamlet two miles west of Okayama," a city near the Inland Sea. His family was listed from 1701 as among the *samurai* or warrior folk. Yet it was a priestly family. Munetada's father was the priest of the local Shinto shrine, and when the father ceased to serve, the son succeeded him.

Kurozumi Munetada's sectarian venture was a product both of the times and of his own experience. Chinese culture then prevailed throughout the circle of the leaders of Japan, while Buddhist influence dominated in religion. Many Chinese scholars and philosophers had emigrated to Japan after the fall of the Ming Dynasty in 1644, and these had given impetus to a revival of Confucian learning. Perhaps the leading philosophy of the time was that of the neo-Confucianist Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528), called Oyomei by the Japanese. It emphasized dependence upon intuition rather than upon knowledge in religious experience and assured that any man might become a sage. Parallel with this, the influential Shingon or "True Word" sect of Buddhism was proclaiming the possibility of man's attaining Buddhahood by thought and the power of the "True Word," even in the present life. This Buddhist sect had long been compromising with the Shinto cult by its declaration that Buddha and the sun-goddess were one power. And it had built its temples on the sacred Shinto height, Mount Koya.

In such an atmosphere of intuitionist philosophy and of the theory of the dependable immediacy of spiritual experience, Munetada was born and reared. He knew something of Confucian philosophy and of Buddhist religion. He also doubtless knew something of the important third factor, which was combating alien elements. "Pure Shinto"

was in the process of revival. Munetada, under its influence, came to think that his own faith, despite its defects which he saw and understood, might enable him to realize what the foreign systems offered. His problem, therefore, was to become (or realize himself) a god, or *kami*, while yet he was alive. His becoming *kami* meant more than being Buddha or a sage. It meant the embodiment of the eternal spirit of his own country, and the realization of his own divinity.

In 1810, when his father stepped aside as priest, Munetada carried on the office. Three deities were worshiped at his shrine: (1) the sun-goddess, (2) Hachiman (the deity of the *daimyos* or local feudal lords), and (3) the ancestral spirit of the Fujiwaras. The crisis of his life came soon after he became a priest; rather, a series of crises set in. Both his parents died in 1812, within a week, and he mourned excessively. Soon he was ill with what the doctors pronounced an incurable disease. He sought comfort in religion, but prepared for death. He fasted one time for a period of twenty-seven days, and prayed constantly to the sun-goddess. On March 6, 1814, it occurred to him that possibly he had brought disease upon himself by his excessive sorrow. With a different mind, therefore, he prayed for health. At dawn one day (December 22, 1814), while he was engaged in prayer, there came suddenly an experience of the goddess which seemed to purge and brighten and restore him. He was then and there miraculously healed. He was possessed of *yo-ki* (comparable to the Chinese *yang*); he had become *kami*. For fifty years thereafter he gave himself to the ministry of the majesty and power of the sun-goddess.

Munetada's activities were many throughout the period of his ministry. He made many trips to Ise. During one year (1825) he confined his devotion to one shrine only. In 1830 he began a ten-year visitation of shrines at the rate of one hundred every month. He often resorted to divination for instruction, using the Chinese hexagrams (cf. the Chinese *I Ching*). For example, once he learned that "in

order to succeed, we must be at peace with our fellow men"; and on February 4, 1839, he read the sign "to break a new path." He wrought many cures, sometimes by prayers to the goddess, sometimes by his pilgrimages. At his death he was officially recognized by the Japanese Government as *Munetada-kami*, "God Munetada" (or, *Dai-Myo-Jin*, "great-shining-deity").

MUNETADA'S TEACHINGS. His teachings centered in the sun-goddess, of whom he thought in terms of the *Kojiki*. He neither ignored, nor denied, however, the "myriads" of lesser deities. He was virtually a relative polytheist. But he tempered his polytheism with certain philosophical tenets which he seems to have derived from the sixteenth-century Chinese, Wang Yang-ming. He identified the goddess with sound wisdom, or "good knowledge," or "intuition," which he called *ryochi*. This *ryochi* is diffused in all beings and objects, which together make up the universe; in fact, *ryochi* is the universe, whose conspicuous central figure is the sun-goddess. It is she who fills all things, whether man or beast, fish or fowl, good or evil, and through whom all things are moved and guided. She is the wisdom which all men should desire, and which may be obtained by every sincere, devoted seeker. The goddess in the heart of man is after all the great Reality. She is the "heart" or *kokoro*, "mind, soul, spirit." Kurozumi himself had found her on that December 22, 1814. Her special seat was Ise, where he often went on pilgrimage. He had been healed and illuminated by her grace. Through her and in her he had found the *Ten-do-sama*, or "Honorable Heavenly Way." Her way is Truth. Such was his theology.

Kurozumi's philosophy was dualistic, in the characteristic vein of modern China. Over against the "brightness" (*yo-ki*) of the goddess, is the "gloom" (*in-ki*), whence evil passions arise and diseases spring. He takes both *yo-ki* and *in-ki* for granted. Good and evil are both "natural," but evil in man is due to man's self (his *ware*), and to a certain form of illusion (*mayoi*).⁸ It is necessary to keep *in-ki* in subjection to *yo-ki*, if man is to have peace of mind and

health of body. If *in-ki* should prevail, man becomes the victim of moral and physical ills. If *in-ki* does prevail, the way of its subordination to *yo-ki* is by the inducement of trance states and ecstasy, through which the sufferer may inhale the Divine Spirit and realize his oneness with Divinity (the goddess). To this end he advocated breathing exercises, such as Taoists and some Buddhists used, the repetition of a certain prayer to the goddess (and prayers, also, to all the gods of healing). To keep in health of body and mind the devotee must rely upon "the cultivation of the heart" (*yo-mu*), by which Munetada seems to mean in part, at least, an identification of oneself with *Mu*, the goddess as the Ultimate. And the devotee must have the "faith of devotion" (*shin-jin*), a faith which clearly reflects the teaching of certain faith sects of the Buddhists.

The Kurozumi-kyo gained great influence mainly through its "healing" of the sick by faith and illumination. Kurozumi Munetada himself had performed the "great incantation," and had licensed several chosen priests for its performance. Each head of the sect after him has performed this rite. The headquarters of the sect is Kurozumi's native village where a large memorial to him was erected in 1880. Since 1881 the sect itself has been among those "recognized" by the Imperial Government but its best days seem to have passed.

TENRI-KYO. The Tenri-kyo or "Heavenly Reason Teaching" has shrines, priests, and adherents throughout the Empire. Its chief temple is situated in the village of Mishima, near Nara, an ancient Imperial capital. This sect came into the field during the early nineteenth century, when the common people had long been disappointed in other means of satisfying their hearts' hunger. By faith healing and an energetic program of preaching it has gained public attention and won adherents, and is now the largest of the thirteen sects. It has failed, however, to make a marked impression on the upper classes.

Tenri-kyo was founded by a woman, (Mrs.) Omiki Nakayama, born in 1798 of a peasant family in a village of the

province of Yamato. At thirteen, she was married to one Nakayama, a farmer living in the neighboring village of Mishima. They were poor, but industrious and frugal. She not only cared for the household and the children, but worked in the fields. Although she had little education, she seems to have gained the respect of the villagers by her kindness of heart and unselfish service. At the age of thirty-two, she was touched with pity for a poor mother of the village and made of one of the woman's children a foster-child, giving it equal attention with her own. One day, on returning from the fields, Omiki discovered her foster-child ill with smallpox in a virulent form. This she took to be a sign of her own neglect, and employed every means for the child's recovery. Medical skill seemed unavailing, so she resorted to the "higher powers." She visited the shrines of the gods, both Shinto and Buddhist, offered her gifts and her prayers, and even vowed two of her own children, if the foster-child were restored to health. The child was cured, but soon afterwards a natural daughter died—in partial payment of the mother's vows? Two years later, a second daughter was taken—to complete the vow? Omiki considered these events the work of the gods.

In her fortieth year, one of her sons was troubled by a painful ulcer on his foot. In this instance, the parents applied first of all to a minor priest, or exorcist, who brought some temporary relief through incantation. Upon the return of the pain, the services of the leader of a pilgrim society were enlisted, and he performed a *gohei* ceremony of "bringing down the gods." The ulcer was cured, immediately, we may suppose, for the impression upon the mother was so pronounced that she went into trance for three days, and in the end was seized with a frenzy attributable to the gods alone. She deemed herself "possessed." This was the turning point of her career. Soon thereafter Kuni-tokotachi-no-mikoto, one of the ancient Shinto deities, spoke to her. A series of convulsions ensued, during each of which a deity was revealed to her. Last of all came Izanagi and Izanami, the divine parents. Ten gods in all revealed them-

selves. These she designated in the course of time the Ten Gods of the Heavenly Reason. They required the devotion of herself, her family, and all her possessions, upon pain of utter destruction. She came to be considered the special representative, indeed the incarnation of deity, and her words were taken as divinely inspired.

Omiki devoted herself thereafter to the religious life, giving forth her "revelations" in the form of hymns and sermons. She lived and taught for fifty years after her "call," gathering many converts, although she met with ridicule from both Shinto and Buddhist priests. In time an organization began to form as a means of preserving and extending the movement, and of resisting opposition. On her death in 1887, at the age of eighty-nine, an elaborate funeral service was performed, and her body was laid to rest on top of a low hill overlooking the village of Mishima. Six months later the sect received the official recognition of the government. First a son, then a grandson, succeeded to the headship of the order, each living in state in Mishima. Omiki's teachings are preserved mostly in the form of manuscripts, including twelve hymns and reports of sermons. They are the irregular utterances of an untutored peasant speaking to the poor and uneducated, asserting her claims as a divine teacher, calling her hearers to accept her doctrine of deliverance from trouble and disease, and warning them vigorously to abandon sin and to lead upright lives as prerequisites to deliverance.

OMIKI'S TEACHINGS. Omiki taught that man's primary allegiance was to the moon and the sun. The words *Tsukihhi*, "moon-sun," are her formula for God. It is a dualistic concept based upon the popular Confucianism of her region, which held the *yang-yin* theory of the universe. With her it is a naïve dualism, with neither theology nor philosophy. There were ten gods in all, but these two were the "higher possession" of her heart. They represented the male and female principles in the universe. Her Deity was the interacting Divine Parents who love and guard mankind, their children, and desire their purity of heart and

happiness. Because of the desire of the Divine Parents for the happiness of their children, their children's worship is mostly praise and thanksgiving, with dancing and posturing, and with music from drums, cymbals, bells, and clappers of wood. In the house of worship are such objects as a mirror, the *gohei*, and the god-shelves for offerings, such objects, in fact, as are common in Shinto shrines.

Omiki laid great stress upon faith. Healing could come by faith alone, and is actually hindered by physicians and medicine. "All disease is from the heart," she said, but the moon and sun are eager to make men's hearts "sincere"; therefore, have faith in them. Fertilizers were unnecessary for the fields; seed sown in faith brought the best crops. The doctrines about medicine and fertilizers have been modified in recent years by her followers, in deference to the government and to reason. Trance states are doubtless still induced by the faithful for divine possession and revelation, but the ethical quality of the teachings continues fairly high. Duty is much insisted upon, especially the "five virtues" in the "five relations" (cf. Confucianism). Present-day followers place much stress upon cooperatives and various forms of social service.

Personal immortality was not emphasized; rather, Omiki said little about the future life, though she believed in it. Death was like "changing one's clothes," and then the good man would be reunited with the Divine Parents, moon and sun, in some realm whence his soul had originated as an emanation from them.

THE TAISHA SECT. The Taisha-kyo, or "Great Shrine Sect," was established—some adherents say "revived"—in 1874, at Kidzuki, whence the name "Great Shrine," by a nobleman, Senge Sompuku, warden or "divine official" of the shrine. Under his direction the sect used the state buildings as their headquarters until the government ordered it in 1879 to withdraw. Sompuku then resigned his state office in favor of his son, Takanori, and established the sect in his baronial mansion in Kidzuki. He continued head of the order until it was "recognized" by the govern-

ment in 1887, after which, giving way to a nephew as superintendent, he assumed the office of "chief preacher." The headquarters of the sect have continued in the Senge mansion, with the ancient guest chamber as its main sanctuary.

To what extent is Taisha-kyo sectarian? One may observe that it follows orthodox Shinto very closely, especially the "Pure Shinto" of Hirata. It rests upon an ancient base, Kidzuki. It has no other cosmology than that of primitive Shinto. It regards as the chief deity Onamuji (or Ohokuni-nushi) the great earth-god of Kidzuki, who descended from the boisterous deity of storm and mystery, Susa-no-wo. Onamuji's shrine is second only to Ise in sanctity, and surpasses it in age. The Senge priests have claimed descent from Onamuji's first successor, and the Taisha-kyo shares this lineage through Sompuku. While still connected with the Great Shrine, the sect had worshiped other gods besides Onamuji in the Hall, where, according to an inscription, "the effulgence of the Deities is manifest"; had relied upon music from the flute and drums of the shrine; had made use of *gohei* and *sakaki*-branches bearing replicas of the "divine relics," the mirror, sword, and jewels; and had worshiped the ancestral spirits. It has continued ancient practices, such as intercessory prayers in prescribed forms, together with incantation by an authorized official. It has propitiated Onamuji as god of earth and ruler of the underworld, in whose care are the souls of the dead. It has relied upon prayers to the ruler to secure for the dead the rank of *kami*. It has a cult of ancestors. It puts high value upon pilgrimage to Kidzuki. Once pilgrims were attracted by prizes, but this practice has ceased. The sect has practiced ancient Shinto magic. Once Sompuku was carried after a ritual bath into the sanctuary of a meeting-place and enshrined, while devotees drank of the waters of the bath, and various amulets were consecrated through contact with his body. Such practices have long since been abandoned. In fact, the sect has combated the nonsensical belief in fox-possession. But wherein is it a sect?

Perhaps its official severance from the Great Shrine actu-

ally induced, or heightened, its sectarian character. It is a very completely religious organization, having its houses of worship, its places of pilgrimage, its objects of worship, its sermons, priests, prayers, and catechism. Unlike the Kurozumi and Tenri sects, however, the Taisha-kyo was not born out of a great religious experience. It is a religious adaptation of the national cult. Lacking such experiences as Munetada and Omiki had, there is in it no theory of divine "possession," nor any extreme reliance upon faith. The government deprived the head of the order of the character of a "living *kami*," which has caused members to seek at times the prayers of the warden of the orthodox Kidzuki shrine. The members of the order are not distinguished by any sense of mission. The sect has no philosophy, or creed, which would challenge the more thoughtful Japanese. Perhaps it endures by reason of its "purist" qualities, its great numbers, its prestige as the Great Shrine sect, and its veneration of the emperor.

POSTWAR JAPANESE RELIGIOUS LIFE. The longer-established religious groups in Japanese life appear to have survived the war without marked changes. There was an inevitable heavy economic loss caused by wartime destruction, even though American forces made a conscious effort to avoid bombing national monuments, many of which were religious shrines. Nara and Kyoto, where so many of the national treasures are located, fortunately received no bombing raids at all. Nevertheless, in such crowded centers as Tokyo, which was heavily bombed, there was unavoidably much destruction not only of military objectives but also of other buildings, including religious centers. Incendiary and napalm bombs are no respecters of persons or places. The economic burden placed upon organized religious groups by such destruction is very great.

Shrine (formerly State) Shinto has made a surprisingly good recovery from the double blow of destruction and disestablishment. The relatively few shrines which formerly received heavy subsidies have been in trouble financially, but many shrines even before the war received very

little help from the government, some as little as 1 per cent of their total support. The transition has not been difficult for these centers of Shrine Shinto. The more striking result of disestablishment has been the recognition of Shrine Shinto as *religious*—and as having always been religious as well as political, in spite of official pronouncements to the contrary. A committee seeking voluntary contributions to the restoration of the Great Shrine at Ise has labelled as a “pretext” the claim formerly made that the ceremonial was not religious.⁹

There is no question that now it is regarded as religious, though the only significant change that has occurred is that the shrines no longer receive any government subsidy, and that no government official may, *qua* official, participate in the ceremonial. And the shrines are at very definite pains to let it be known that they are religious. There is no other excuse now for their existence, nor will they get the support of the people unless they are performing a religious function, for the national function is no longer legally to be served.¹⁰

Since the disestablishment in December, 1945, there has been a definite attempt on the part of the leaders of Shrine Shinto to make the transition from a patriotic cult to a full-fledged religion. Most of the shrines have incorporated as religious bodies and eighty-six thousand of them banded together after the war as an association, with Shrine Association Headquarters in Tokyo, as well as regional associations on the prefectural and sometimes local level. Under this organizational leadership an attempt is being made to develop a system of doctrine and ethical teachings and a priesthood trained to preach to parishioners. Shrine priests are taking an interest in the social life of their people, with activities planned for every age group from nursery and kindergarten to adulthood. Time will tell how successful this new experiment on the part of Shrine Shinto will be.¹¹

Sectarian Shinto appears to flourish, Tenri-kyo being currently the strongest of the thirteen groups. At its headquarters in Tambaichi, Tenri-kyo supports a university with a library containing more than a half million books, including an important collection of rare books and manuscripts.

The temple and auxiliary buildings are "a veritable beehive of activity," according to a recent American visitor.¹² Omoto-kyo suffered from government disapproval during the war, because of its pacifist tendencies. Its buildings were blown up and its leaders imprisoned. The present leader was released at the end of the war and immediately set about the work of reorganization. Buildings have been restored, including schools, a hospital, and an orphanage. The present-day sect makes an important contribution to the national life in terms of social work, welfare, and various cooperative enterprises. Omoto-kyo has a very active publications division, including a magazine in Esperanto dedicated to world peace and another publication devoted to the improvement of farming for the benefit of their largely rural constituency.

But the greatest vitality is displayed by the new religions, over six hundred of which have appeared in Japan since 1945. Some of them are local and very small, but others are national in scope with memberships running as high as a half million constituents. These are not really *new* religions, but syntheses of Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity, combined with elements which show the influence of Spiritualism, New Thought, Christian Science, and Theosophy. They display a marked interest in faith healing. These new religions seemingly experience little difficulty in raising funds. Handsome temples have been constructed and the necessary quarters for activities. They exhibit a sense of social responsibility expressed in terms of schools, kindergartens, playgrounds, orphanages, hospitals, etc.¹³ Some of these new religions will no doubt disappear, but others appear likely to make a permanent place for themselves in Japan.

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Chapter 8

INDIA AND RELIGION

India is the middle of three peninsulas jutting southward from the mainland of Asia. With all her 1,269,640 square miles of territory, India occupies less than one-tenth of Asia. But tenths do not indicate the relative importance of this land to Asia and the world, for if one appraises Asiatic thought and institutions, India is not the least of Asia; she may, in truth, be first! About the size of Europe, without Scandinavia and Russia, India is quite as complex, in any manner of accounting. For the study of religion, India is indispensable. India is a peculiarly religious land and a fitting field for the adequate study of the roots and fruits of faith.

If one would understand India, he must have due regard for the complexity which her map displays. There are complexities of temperature, humidity, and physical features, of political and economic history, diversities of language and social institutions, and variations of her peoples' outlook upon life. Let us fix in our minds the wide variety in that region which goes by the simple name of India. India is the home not of a homogeneous people, but of a congeries of ethnic stocks. Yet this variety of peoples is now united in one nation, a fact proudly affirmed by the new India. This is the theme of Rabindranath Tagore's "Jana-gana-mana," first sung during a session of the Indian Congress at Calcutta in 1911 and now officially adopted as India's national anthem:

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people,
Thou Dispenser of India's Destiny.
Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab, Sind,
Gujarat and Maratha, of Dravid, Orissa and Bengal;

It echoes in the hills of the Vindhyas and Himalayas,
Mingles in the music of Jumna and Ganges,
and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea.
They pray for thy blessing and sing thy praise,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory, Victory, Victory to Thee.¹

PEOPLES AND RELIGIONS. Let us take a somewhat hasty view of India's peoples. According to a United Nations estimate of 1954, India has a population of nearly 377,000,000 people, which makes India, next to China, the most highly populated country in the world. Furthermore, the population is increasing by 12.5 per cent annually, using as a basis of reckoning the average increase for the decade ending in 1951. Hinduism is the faith of the majority of these peoples, but India is also the home of Jainism and Sikhism. India was the first home of Buddhism, now found in Ceylon, Burma, China, and Japan, and there are 200,000 Buddhists still in India. Most of the Parsis, 100,000 in number, live on the Bombay side. There are 8,200,000 Christians, and many million "animists."² There are still 35,400,000 Muslims living in India, even since the partition of India and Pakistan and large transfers of population. Of the total population, 85 per cent are now Hindu.

RACES. One faces the problem of dependence between races and religions. India is not a land of racially homogeneous peoples as is Japan, or even China, in its basic stock. One can distinguish such peoples as the Gurkhas, Rajputs, Tamils, and Pathans, but there is for the masses a somewhat basic strain. The original deposit has usually been called Dravidian, with its culture and religion, although today some scholars claim to be able to distinguish a pre-Dravidian, "Proto-Australoid" layer represented by hill people of central and South India. The Dravidian stock is found today from the southernmost Cape Comorin as far north as the Tropic of Cancer. Once Dravidians inhabited the northern parts of India, but were displaced by successive waves of Aryan immigration. In the northeast they were pushed back by Mongoloids. The true Dravidian has very

dark skin, although he is not a Negro type. He is short and squat in stature. His hair is black and straight, although curly hair is not infrequent. His head is long rather than broad. His nose is broad, but neither it nor his face is flat. Such are the main distinctive features where this primal stock has not suffered alteration by admixture with Indo-European, Scythic, or Mongolian peoples.

There are distinguishable features. The Bengali of to-day is Mongolo-Dravidian, with the cultural advantage of the Indo-European. The Maratha of the western coastal hills is doubtless Scythic. The purest Aryan or Indo-European stock is Rajput, and the Rajputs have been at pains to guard it. In Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, especially, the masses are Dravidian mixed with Aryan. These central portions are the seat of India's classic culture: of Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Indian Islam, and modern Hinduism. This is *madhyadesha*, the "middle country," the home of thirty centuries of Hindu culture. Here also is the seat of Hindi or Hindustani, the most widely spoken language. Proceeding from the southern cape to the mountains of the northwest border, there are gradations of stature from short to tall, and shades of color from black to white. We might trace along this route, successively, Dravidian, Aryo-Dravidian or Sanskritic, and Islamic or Perso-Arab-Indian cultures.

We might include some pre-Dravidians, whose living representatives doubtless tell us what India's aboriginals were. There are Paniyans of Malabar, Santals of Chhota Nagpur, and hill and jungle peoples of the Central States such as Gonds, Kols, and Kurkus. We may not rightly call them all Dravidians, although topography may be the reason for their isolation. Four thousand years ago there came into the midst of Indian aboriginals and Dravidians, a fair-skinned people who had found their way through the hazardous defiles of the ranges of the northwest. They called themselves the *aryas* or "nobles," possibly on grounds of military prowess more than culture, for we scarcely believe that these nomads were highly cultured. The land

first gained they designated *aryadesha*, the "country of the aryas." They used other terminology for non-Aryan lands and peoples. In the north they made slaves of the indigenous peoples, and in time there developed a civilization which we know as Vedic. The Aryas found in central and south India no physical resistance. We have, from later Sanskrit literature, an ample knowledge of the commingling. This source contains much that for centuries had been orally handed down, and was written after *aryadesha* had extended into *madhyadesha*, including the region around Banaras.

Along the eastern edge of the Sanskrit area, eastward of Banaras, arose the Buddhist and the Jainist reformations of the fifth century B.C., producing a Prakrit literature akin to Sanskrit. Gotama, the Buddha, initiated a movement which shook the very foundations of Hindu culture. This movement was a major phase of the readjustment which is the proper measure of the heritage of India. Hinduism finally recovered from the Buddhist shock, with such resistlessness that Buddhism had to yield. It saved itself by emigration.

The Muslims intruded about the time the Normans were invading England, pouring in through several centuries, coming overland by way of Persia and the northwest passages. They won dominion by warfare, commerce, and conversion. Not only to religion, but to art and the architecture of the land they made their striking contribution. Mughal art particularly was realistic, whereas the art of India until then was mystical, imaginative, and, at times, fantastic. Strictly Hindu art continued thus, for both painter and sculptor sought merely to suggest by symbolism the reality they saw behind appearance. Those who recall that Muhammad strictly forbade the making of any "likenesses," need but to know that to Indian Muslims pictorial art, at least, was not a sin.

After the Great Mughals, the power of the European in India began to rise. Several of the land routes to the East had been made difficult, and daring navigators of Portugal found ways to India across the seas. The Muslims ruled in

India when the first Europeans arrived, but within two centuries they had begun to decline. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Scythic-Hindu Marathas were the rising power in western India. Most of southern India was held by independent princes, whether Hindu or Muslim. Sanskrit was still the medium of culture among Hindus. The great vernaculars, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Hindi, and Bengali, were still colloquial. But India's comparative isolation soon began to yield before the new pressure from the West. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach India. They came to trade and to found settlements on the coasts, and were followed in rapid succession by the Dutch, the English, the Danes, and the French. The Portuguese had little success, except in keeping certain small footholds along the western coast. Nor did the Dutch and the Danes make any real headway, which left the British and the French as the chief rivals for the trade of India. In the eighteenth century when dissident elements were tearing the Mughal Empire apart, the British and French seized their opportunity to carve out colonial empires. From 1746 to 1763 a series of battles was fought in India between the British and the French, each side supported by as many native princes as it could muster, victory eventually going to the British, who were led by Robert Clive. British predominance among European powers in India was thus established. The inauguration of the British Empire in India is traditionally dated from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 when the British under Clive defeated the Nawab of Bengal. Upon the breakup of the Mughal Empire, the British East India Company entered upon a policy of territorial acquisition. Fearing the emergence of a private empire, the British Parliament in 1733 placed the company under cabinet control, and appointed Warren Hastings, successor of Clive, as first governor general of English possessions in India. In 1813 Parliament abolished the trade monopoly of the East India Company, opening up the Indian market to individual private traders, and in 1833 reduced the com-

pany to purely administrative functions. At about this time, the English tongue came widely into use for politics and education. English was officially adopted as the language of instruction in the schools and colleges which had originally been set up by the East India Company. English literature was freely drawn upon. Westerners—the British, in particular—began to examine with interest the great Indian stores of language, literature, art, and religion. Christianity, as a phase of Western penetration, is of great significance in the development of modern India, although ancient Middle Eastern Christianity had spread directly into India, especially the south.

THE REVIVAL OF HINDUISM. The impact of Western culture upon India had momentous results. On the political level, it aroused the spirit of nationalism which resulted in 1947 in the creation of India and Pakistan as separate nations within the British Commonwealth. On the religious and cultural level, it resulted in a renaissance of Hinduism. A century and a half ago, writes a distinguished Indian scholar:

. . . Hindu society was stagnant, fettered with a thousand restrictions and customs which were looked upon as the Laws of God. Now, child marriages are illegal, inter-marriage between castes is becoming frequent. The cruel custom of sati is gone; women are now educated, have the franchise, and have been serving as Ministers of State and as ambassadors. Untouchability is prohibited by law, and the ban on foreign travel has been removed. There is now a greater knowledge of the essentials of Hinduism among the people; the Bhagavad Gita is being widely read; many good books on the religion of the Hindus have been published within the past fifty years in all the languages of India.³

David G. Moses, the principal of a Christian college in India, credits the renaissance of Hinduism in the period since 1800 to three factors: (1) the inherent vitality of Hinduism itself; (2) the influence of western culture; and (3) the growth of Christianity in India as a competing religious force.⁴ Concerning the last-mentioned, Dr. Moses writes:

[Christianity] was a new religion and, in trying to win adherents, it engaged in a frontal attack on Hinduism, laying bare the social iniquities as directly stemming from its wrong conceptions of God and its relation to men. It preached the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It fell foul of the caste system and the oppression of the outcaste. It condemned child marriage, enforced widowhood, *Sati* (burning of widows), infanticide, and the devadasi system (temple dancing girls), as devilish customs stemming from wrong religious and social conceptions.⁵

D. S. Sarma, himself a spokesman for the new Hinduism, attributes these reforms to the influence of Western science and says:

In the light of this new knowledge many an evil custom in Hindu society hitherto regarded as a decree of God appeared in its true colors as the folly of man. *Sati*, infanticide, enforced widowhood, child marriages, untouchability, *purdah*, devadasi, the caste system and prohibition of foreign travel began to lose their tyrannical hold on the minds of Hindus. And reformers arose who were determined to purge the society of these evils.⁶

The list of these reformers during the past century and a half is an impressive one. The first great Indian reform leader was Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833). In 1828 he instituted the Brahmo Samaj which was continued by Devendranath Tagore and later by Keshub Chandra Sen. The Brahmo Samaj was a liberal movement, sympathetic to western ideas. Rejecting the Vedas and Upanishads it formulated a theistic base from which it attacked many social evils. While it had a constructive influence in its day, the Brahmo Samaj weakened its position by cutting itself off from the main stream of Hinduism, and is now limited to a select but small group of followers chiefly in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. The Arya Samaj was founded by Dayananda Sarasvati in 1875. The slogan of this movement was "Back to the Vedas" (but not to the Upanishads), and a deliberate attempt was made to reconvert to Hinduism those who had accepted Christianity. The Arya Samaj has made some notable contributions in the area of social and educational reform. The Hindu Mahasabha,

representing extreme orthodoxy and, like the Arya Samaj, stressing the reconversion of Indian Christians to Hinduism, seems to have lost its vitality. The R.S.S. (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh) has been as active as any, but is currently under ban since the assassination of Gandhi by one of its members. The one movement of religious reform which exerts widespread influence in India today is the Ramakrishna Vedanta Movement, founded by Sri Ramakrishna (1836–1886), an account of whose life and teachings may be found in *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*.⁷ Ramakrishna practiced many different religious disciplines and came to the conviction that they all led to the same goal. According to one of his present-day followers, “the religion that he lived and taught was . . . the universal religion of which all the historical religions of the world are only certain aspects.”⁸ Swami Vivekananda, a disciple of Ramakrishna, after traveling in Europe and America founded the Ramakrishna Mission which now has one hundred centers throughout the world, including a dozen or more in the United States of America.

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Chapter 9

HINDUISM

Hinduism is the leading, the characteristic faith of India. But Hinduism cannot be described in any simple phrase, for it is as diverse as the numberless groups among the millions who profess it. In Hinduism we find a faith more inchoate and intangible than any which we have thus far encountered, even as we find it in many of its forms a higher faith than these. Nevertheless, there are essential characteristics by which both the land itself and its leading faith may ultimately be known. As India may be called a climate, so Hinduism is an atmosphere.

NAME AND FORM. Sometimes we call the religion Brahmanism. We might designate it Brahmanic Hinduism, indicating the congeries of theories and the medley of practices amid which the influence of the Brahman is predominant. But, while all Brahmans are Hindus, not all Hindus are Brahmans. There are groups who rely upon their own non-Brahman priesthood as authority in religion. However, we may say that all those Indians are Hindus who recognize, either directly or remotely, the dominance of Brahmans, especially the Brahman priests. By this they are distinguished from all others, not subservient to Brahmanical tradition, e.g., Muslims, Christians, and Parsis, and, to some extent, the Jains and Sikhs.

The word Hindu had its origin in *sindhu*, an ancient Sanskrit term for river. The term survives, as well, in "Sind" and "Indus," and in "Hindustan," or "river-land." India (including what is now Pakistan) was to the Aryan invaders the land of many rivers, especially the Indus, the broad, full stream, whose majesty impressed the early Indo-

European immigrants to the Punjab, region of the "five waters" which finally converge in the main Indus channel.

Although Hinduism lacks any regular articulation as a system of *belief*, it is the very web and pattern of Indian life. While it contains all possible interpretations of religion, it is as a social scheme organized and articulate. It is reckless of creed, tolerant of religious rivalries, and patient with heresies; yet on the whole, it is all-powerful, and it has imposed upon men a way of life altogether unique in the history of religions. Hinduism is today the legitimate successor not only of its early self but also of all antecedent, essentially Indian forms; yet it is something more than historical and sociological confusion. While Hindus have followed religious practices with a freedom not inhibited by any practical or speculative system, significant systems as such have been evolved by them. Something unitary, besides, has lurked behind the ways of the thoughtful, and the vessel of their faith has been molded upon a spiritual disc of speculative harmony, even as the village potter shapes the clay on his revolving wheel. Or, to change the figure, Hindus have been involved in the operations of persistent theories which have determined for them a *common state of mind*.

DEFINITION. The content of Hinduism has altered from age to age, and has differed according to community. Hinduism was one thing in the early *Vedic* period (about 1200 to 850 B.C.), another in the time of the *Brahmanas* (writings of about 850 to 600 B.C.), still another in the subsequent era of the *Upanishads*, another in later *Epic* times, until today when it has a fuller content than previous centuries afforded. Nevertheless, we detect the processes of the varying ages. Hindus themselves are not agreed upon any theoretical definition of their faith; they agree only that there is an *essential Hinduism*, a "unity of spirit binding its different expressions and linking up the different periods of its history in one organic whole."¹ The problem reduces itself to the generalizations that Hinduism is the religion of the Hindu, that a Hindu is one who is born of Hindu parents,

who marries a Hindu, who respects Brahman priests and depends more or less directly upon their ministrations, who respects the cow as a sacred animal, who holds the ancient *Vedas* in reverence, who practices cremation, who accepts the distinctions of caste, who obeys the rules prohibiting marriage between persons of different castes and dining with persons of inferior caste and the eating of forbidden foods such as beef, and who believes in one immanent, all-inclusive Supreme Being, Brahman, and in the universal operation of *karma* and the transmigration of souls. A Hindu writer, Srinivasa Iyengar, while insisting that "Hindus have neither faith, nor practice, nor law to distinguish them from others," defines a Hindu as "one born in India, whose parents, as far as people can remember, were not foreigners, or who did not profess foreign religions like Muhammadanism, or Christianity, or Judaism, and who himself has not embraced any such religion." ²

It should be observed that a person may be converted to Hinduism, that a Hindu may accept the ministrations of other than Brahman priests, that he may in effect reject the authority of the *Vedas*, that he may bury and not burn his dead, that he may on occasion eat and drink with men of inferior caste, *and* that he may be an animist or an atheist or a worshiper of many gods or a devotee of one only God. Nor do these statements contradict our definitions or impair the *fact* of Hinduism, however indefinable. Hinduism is a real and potent faith. India is so deeply religious that she is best understood through the religious approach. We are adopting no mere device, therefore, when we choose to observe Hindus at worship and patiently inquire what it means in essential Hinduism, both contemporary and historical. We have in mind, first, the Central Indian villager whose tongue is *Hindi*, and who fairly represents, at its lower levels, the Aryanized civilization which flourishes between Bombay and Calcutta; and, second, the townsman of South Indian Madura, where the Dravidian element is prominent in Hindu culture. Thereafter we shall make a pilgrimage, especially to Banaras, *the* sacred city of all Hinduism.

VILLAGE HINDUISM. One typical central Indian village has a varied population of only one hundred and fifty souls. When visited by one of the authors, the village was still untouched by modern influences, although this situation may be changed as the second five-year plan for community development begins to take effect.

In the dry season (our autumn, winter, and spring), the village has a road connection with the main highway, two miles distant, but during the rains, it is inaccessible, save on foot. Its homes are thirty-five mud houses, with thatch or red tile roofs, clustered in irregular fashion about an open center. One house is larger than the rest; it is that of the headman. Pillars of crudely carved wood flank his doorway, through which one enters an inner court. Color decorations of various designs adorn the walls. At the edge of the village is a glistening white temple, the most conspicuous village structure and the pride of the inhabitants. The most interesting villager is the temple priest. He is a Brahman and the only Brahman. He must do his own cooking and wash his own utensils and clothing. He may not risk defilement from the touch or even the shadow of those of lesser caste. He conducts worship for the inhabitants, mostly farmers, although among them live some brick- and tile-makers and some fishermen. At one side of the village lives a small group of *chamars* or leather-workers, outcastes who live their lives apart and serve their own gods.

It is the typical agricultural scene, and, be it remembered, India is essentially an agricultural country, for villagers make up about 70 per cent of the population. But observe the Brahman priest. He represents the Aryanization of the community, with all that it means, socially and religiously. He is the apex of the social order and the spiritual arbiter of the community's conduct and destiny. He has some education, as it happens, although not all Brahmans, whether priests or of another calling, are educated. He knows something of the history and literature of his faith. He conducts daily worship in his temple and

lives by the alms of his constituency. He is proud of his charge and faithful in worship.

THE VILLAGE TEMPLE. Peep into the temple interior; of course, you as a foreigner and therefore an outcaste may not set foot within, or even on the outer threshold. There is a platform in the center, upon which rest certain emblems of the faith, chief of which is the short, smoothly carved pillar of Mahadeva, or the "Great God" Shiva. Later on we shall learn more of Shiva, who is in direct succession from a pre-Aryan power of India, such as the natural stone still symbolizes. Along with Shiva on the platform are other symbols; perhaps, a rudely carved head of Shiva's consort and an image of the popular Hanuman, the monkey-god, the friend of Rama. Scattered about the platform are flowers, mango leaves, turmeric, grains of rice and wheat, and fragments of coconut—the signs of priestly service. Here and there, especially in niches in the walls, are small clay lamps to be lighted on occasion. From the cross-beam over the doorway hangs a bell. This is the typical shrine of village Hinduism, save for the painted figure of a clock above the doorway! Neither the villager nor the temple ritual is regulated by a clock. Sunrise and sunset bound the rural day, with long repose at mid-day for man and beast. The priest performs his services mornings and evenings: prayers, gifts, and libations. He serves also on special occasions, in examining horoscopes prior to a marriage; fixing days for plowing, sowing, and the harvest; disclosing times when good stars smile on a journey; and conducting the annual ceremony for the dead. His services are indispensable, even as his very presence is a safeguard and a benediction. The women, who have no religious status apart from their husbands, carry on in their houses a daily worship with images from their own god-box. Now and then a villager, or an entire family, goes on pilgrimage to some distant holy place. Occasionally a *sadhu* (holy man) passes by, feared, and frequently revered.

HINDUISM IN THE TOWN. In Madura, we view a more imposing scene. This large city, situated beside the Vaigai River in the far south of India, was an ancient capital of a strong dynasty and contains imposing temples of "Dravidianized" Brahmanism. The great temple is considered the finest, as it is the most extensive, example of Dravidian architecture in India. The style of the vast structure is most effective when seen from a distant elevation, but the innumerable details of composition bear, upon close inspection, eloquent testimony to the skill and fervor of its builders. The general plan is a great rectangle, about 725 feet by 850, inclosing a group of lesser rectangles. At the middle of each side of the outer wall rises a huge tower or *gopuram*, the tallest of which is 156 feet high, and above various walls within the great inclosure rise five lesser *gopurams*. All nine of these are four-sided, truncated pyramids of stone, covered on every face with row upon row of carvings in infinite succession, and in a bewildering maze of color; for each carved image is painted, whitewashed, or gilded, whether heroes, gods, goddesses, attendants, bulls, elephants, monkeys, or peacocks. Amidst this primarily Dravidian array, many of the deities of the Hindu pantheon find their place. Within the temple area are many covered sanctuaries, with their shrines and images, and many corridors bordered with elaborately carved pillars. The Hall of the Thousand Pillars (actually 985) displays carvings of heroic size in portrayal of fact and fancy in the religious life of South India, figures which together with the sculptured reliefs of the *gopurams* are now monstrous, now graceful, now lewd, and to be understood, if at all, by the priests alone.

THE GODS OF MADURA. The most important shrines are those of the goddess Minakshi, the "fish-eyed"³ consort of Shiva, and of Shiva himself under the title Sundareshwara, the "handsome deity." The two square sacred inclosures, unequal in area, lie side by side; contiguous to both is the Golden Lily pool, surrounded by cloisters with ornate ceilings, and with their mural panels and their chiseled col-

umns descriptive of many a mysterious episode. Within the pillared cloisters, Hindu devotees and students of religious lore may read, converse, and meditate. The sacred pool is handy for their ceremonial ablutions. Above the flat roof of Shiva's temple protrudes a golden pillar, his symbol. A curious female figure represents Minakshi in her own peculiar temple. In the story of Minakshi fact and fancy blend. She may have been a princess of an ancient Maduran line, esteemed for her chastity and charm. She certainly represents, as well, a female demon of the old Dravidian order; the two characters, however incompatible, have more than once united in one figure. It is said she had three breasts, and that if she met her lord, one would shrink away. She met Shiva, and her third breast vanished, whereupon she recognized her lord. Their marriage was at once arranged and duly consummated. This is clearly an aspect of the introduction of Brahmanism (by way of Shiva) into South India, and its mingling with "Dravidianism."

Minakshi was doubtless the leading deity of the early, southern demon-rites. To this day, every village of South India has its mother-goddess. Shiva, whatever he may have been originally, had been Brahmanized. As he went about, he took local goddesses to wife. Through his bride Minakshi he established himself in Madura. Their marriage is celebrated annually with great pomp in the city and nearby, especially in the dry bed of the Vaigai. On the auspicious day, Shiva is brought from his shrine within the temple, and placed upon a pedestal in the temple marriage-hall, with Minakshi placed beside him. The priests of the deities re-enact the impressive marriage rites, anointing the gods with oil, garlanding them with flowers, and exchanging presents. Next morning comes the great procession, with the people taking part, the temple elephants leading. The gods ride in the enormous temple cars, symbolically drawn by winged horses with forefeet aloft, but actually drawn by the people with long, coconut-fibre ropes.⁴ Thus they are "given the air" to a nearby lake, and

back again. At the lake they ride in a fantastic boat, which floats to the frenzied accompaniment of tom-toms and bagpipes. It is a gay, priestly festival.

In the Vaigai river-bed, where the populace gathers, honor is paid to Allagar, Minakshi's brother, who, by mischance, came late to the wedding, and has since been angry at his sister. The annual rehearsal of his anger affords occasion to all ranks and castes, especially the lowly—for Allagar is very popular—for a riotous festival.

In Madura, as in the village, Hindu worship, even in a great throng, is individual homage to the gods; there is no "congregational" ritual. Into certain of the holiest places only the Brahman priests may enter and worship. Certain temple areas, especially in South India, are restricted to Brahmans, whether priests or laymen, but the corridors of the Madura temples are open to all. There are stated rituals to which the priests attend, in daily or seasonal routine, or on behalf of individuals who specifically commission them. Otherwise the faithful offer their gifts as they will, according to their power and their need, to this god, or another, at various shrines. Perhaps a rich merchant, bringing water from the holy Ganges, rides in state to the temple; he visits the greater shrines, with offerings and prayers, pours out his holy water, prostrates himself and prays, bestows alms generously upon the priests, and finds some satisfaction for an agitated soul. The peasant, poor in this world's goods, but with an urgent devotion, comes afoot and makes the temple rounds to the satisfaction of his own soul. The blind, the halt, and the lame, high and low, rich and poor, the well and the weak, throng the temple corridors throughout the year, for Madura is a notable center of pilgrimage. It remains of especial interest to the student of religion as an ancient center of Dravidian culture.

BANARAS. To behold the very soul of Hinduism, or, better, the very soul of the individual Hindu, one must visit Banaras. There are centers such as Madura, Srirangam, Kalighat, and Vrindaban, where great temples dominate the scene, even when great crowds gather, but in Banaras man

is the dominating interest. He crowds every street, throngs up and down the steps at the river-side, bathes in the cleansing waters of the muddy Ganges, and joins the throng streaming incessantly past the innumerable altars. Banaras (according to the already outdated 1951 census statistics) is a city of 355,000 souls. It is the center of an ever-shifting gathering of men, women, and children from every corner of India. It has fifteen hundred temples and a quarter of a million idols. The soil it stands on, the waters that wash its burning and bathing ghats, and the very airs that blow upon it are all accounted sacred. This city stands in solitary supremacy, combining the virtues of all other centers. While it is a seat of all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, it is pre-eminently the City of Shiva, whose followers predominate. The Golden Temple is his; the Well of Knowledge is his; the so-called Monkey Temple is dedicated to his wife; there are temples to his son, Ganesha. The sacred bull is his, whether sculptured, or alive and wandering freely among the temples. Most of the *sadhus* one meets are devotees of his, paying their vows of hunger, thirst, or what not.

One should approach Banaras with a sense of the Hindu's other-worldliness, and ready acceptance of symbolism. Not otherwise may a Westerner escape offense at floors bespread with cow-dung, and awash with holy water, at the running sores on many a pilgrim, at the foul odors of decaying marigold, smouldering dung, and sizzling human flesh, and at the dank dilapidation of muddy walls. There are other things which one should see: above all, the soul which in some sense has met God in the temple-round. He should view Banaras as a symbol of Hinduism throughout more than twenty-five centuries. It is an ancient site, no doubt, of primitive religion. Some power antecedent to the more modern Shiva was doubtless worshiped there by animistic, perhaps by orgiastic, rites. In time came the martial Aryans of the north, and from the commingling in this middle land was born Aryo-Dravidian Hinduism under the priestly Brahmans. One should understand that with every

dynasty and in every age, the chief significance of Banaras has been religion, and that no other center has enjoyed equal eminence in the cure of souls.

THE GANGES. The religious character of the city is conspicuous along the two and one-half mile water front of the sweeping curve of the left bank of the Ganges. The opposite shore is barren—actually, mud flats. The sacred river is old in the thought of India and is the holiest of all waters. In its heavenly form it sprang from the toe of Vishnu to purify the ashes of sixty thousand princes burnt by the angry glance of a holy sage. Shiva, to save the earth from the river's abrupt fall, caught the waters on his brow and checked its course with his long, matted locks. His act divided the flow into many streams, the Ganges being the chief. The earthly river flows in a course of 1500 miles from Gangotri in Garhwal in the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal. It receives on its way the waters of the Jumna, the Gumti and the Gogra, and every intersection, especially that with the Jumna at Allahabad, has some pretension to sanctity. The bed of the stream near its source is divided into three basins, dedicated to Brahma,⁵ Shiva, and Vishnu, and the worshiper may at one pilgrimage avail himself of the cleansing power of the three great gods. Banaras, however, is said to combine the virtues of all other places of pilgrimage, and if the weary pilgrim die within the *panch kosi* or "five kos" road (a *kos* is about a mile and a half) around the city, he is released immediately from the cycle of recurrent births, being transported directly to the heaven of his devotion. His body is burned on a burning-ghat and the ashes spread on the river. Every pilgrim—there must be a million of them annually—is expected to visit various holy spots in the city and, certificated, to make the "*panch kosi*" circuit of the city, which may cover forty miles and occupy six days. The city, therefore, is crowded with earnest souls occupied with ritual: reverent men in prayer to the vivifying Sun; widows bathing carefully and devoutly; pilgrims from afar bottling holy water to take home

with them; ascetics begging alms or practicing austerities; hundreds of priests, bare of breast and arms, each sitting under his straw sun-shade and marking with the God-sign the foreheads of any faithful who resort to him.

THE GHATS. Especially serious is the group that comes for burning a body which they may have brought from a distance. The corpse bound in cloth is carried on bamboo poles. The bearers have come through the city streets crying aloud, "*Ram, Ram,*" "*Mahadeva,*" or some note of last appeal. Arriving at the burning-ghat, they place the corpse by the river, while they gather the wood—at a price—and build the pyre. When the pyre is ready—wealthy mourners may make it of sandalwood—the man nearest akin to the dead buys from a nearby temple the necessary sparks of sacred fire. The body is then placed on the wood and burned; what remains is thrown into the river. A jar of water is ceremonially broken over the place of burning, and the mourners go their way.

One may best see the ghats by a boat-ride (there are high-decked boats for the purpose) drifting with the slow current (slow when the rains have not begun). He will see an almost unbroken succession of steps along the river's edge, with masses of masonry, sometimes fallen awry. At the top of the steps of Janki Ghat are four temples to Shiva, with gilded pinnacles. He has a temple at the top of Kedar Ghat, where he dwells within painted walls, guarded by two doormen. At the foot of the steps of Kedar Ghat is the well of Gauri his wife, whose waters help cure fevers and dysentery, and on the steps are many *lingas* (or *lingams*), emblems of Shiva. Shiva's dearest site is the Manikarnika Ghat, with its well at the top, into which the god once dropped an earring, and into which, during eclipses of the sun especially, great numbers of pilgrims throw offerings of bel-tree leaves, flowers, milk, sandalwood, sweetmeats, and holy water. At the second row of the Manikarnika steps stands a temple to Ganesha, "lord of hosts," Shiva's son, whose red-daubed image has three eyes, a silver scalp, and

an elephant's trunk with a single tusk. He is here attended by a rat. Elsewhere, e.g., at the Trilokam Ghat of the "Three Worlds," Shiva himself is the "three-eyed one."

At the Dasaswamedha Ghat of the "Ten Horse Sacrifice," Brahma, Vishnu, and other deities are worshiped. Brahma once offered here the ten horse sacrifice, and hither throngs of pilgrims come, especially during eclipses. The Panch-ganga Ghat of the "five Ganges" rests at the place where five (?) holy streams converge—celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean. Once at the head of the steps stood a temple of Vishnu, but now the Muslim mosque of Aurangzeb stands on the temple site, its minarets towering above the ghats. But strangely enough, Hindu tradition, like the scent of the broken rose-bowl, clings to the spot and Hindus worship there. One ghat is sacred to the Jains who have built their temples on it; another is frequented by Gosains, members of an ascetic order who, having subdued their passions and renounced the world, are living a life of religious mendicancy. Still another ghat is dedicated to the Moon-lord, at whose shrine every kind of disease is subject to cure; one ghat is given over mainly to burning. There are about twenty ghats of major importance, and no deity of any following is without symbol or commemoration.

SHIVA'S SPECIAL SEAT. Back of the ghats, sometimes deep within the city, are various shrines, chief of which are Shiva's Golden Temple, his Well of Knowledge, the temple of his wife, Durga (the "Monkey Temple" of Western visitors), and the temple of the "food-full" goddess, Annapurna. The Golden Temple is dedicated to Shiva as Lord of the Universe (Vishveshvara), and stands beside a temple to him as Great God (Mahadeva). Above it rises its conical stone tower, covered with copper plates overspread with gold-leaf (there are, in fact, several gilded towers and domes which rise together from a group of temples). The famous Well of Knowledge, sunk near the Golden Temple in a quadrangle of its own, is now protected by a high stone screen, and is covered over by a stone canopy—to prevent casting in offerings. Its water is available and is much

desired—is it not the very sweat of Shiva? The Durga temple is dedicated to the darker side of Shiva. Shiva's wife in her terrible form is Durga, the inaccessible; she delights in destruction and in bloody sacrifices. Goats are slain for her here. Not far from the Golden Temple is that of the "food-full" goddess, Annapurna, the resort of beggars by the score, whom at Shiva's bidding she feeds (through the attendant priests, of course). This temple is symbolic of the variations in the Hindu cult, for within its compound are shrines of the Sun, of Ganesha, of Shiva's wife in the milder form of Gauri the "brilliant," and of Hanuman, the monkey-god and friend of Rama who himself is an incarnation of Vishnu. For that matter, near the well of Shiva's earring may be found two imprints said to have been made by the feet of Vishnu—but had Vishnu, when he made the imprints, come to worship Shiva?

THE PILGRIM. Banaras is Hinduism in epitome, and against this background of an ancient religious center we shall be better able to understand the faith as a congeries of practices and doctrines. Follow, if you will, a pilgrim to Banaras. A young man goes at the behest of a mother too old to make the long journey. She would have him go, name her name to Ganga-Ma (Mother Ganges), and bring her sacred water to offer to Shiva Mahadeva, thus making her heart lighter for the long transmigration. She has him go in spite of his fears that Ganga may smite him for his own sins, as others have been smitten who dared bathe without repentance. He joins a company journeying by oxcart and afoot. They are all of a peasant caste, men, women and children. They have bedding for the oxen, cotton quilts for themselves, flour and grain with vessels to cook them in, hookah pipes and black tobacco, and jars for holy water. The menfolk carry bamboo lathis (staves) for protection against robbers, and perhaps swing their shoes on the lathi-ends across their shoulders. Many men of the company each carry a pair of conventional covered pilgrim baskets in bamboo racks slung at the ends of a shoulder bar. They make slow progress, but are not impatient, and at last they

reach the outskirts of the Holy City, where our young man leaves the company to go his own way into the bewildering city. The simple young villager mingles, in awe and amazement, with the multitudes come on a common errand. It is a new experience for him, and its results are more or less problematical. He may fall in with the customary routine from temple to temple, to this ghat and that, and at last complete the circuit of the sacred city, thereafter making his way home again, empty of purse, but with his jar of precious Ganges water and a heart full of unquestioning satisfaction in his religious heritage. Banaras may be not symbolism but magical reality; the Ganges itself a means of cleansing from sin, both root and fruit; the priestly mark on his forehead a seal of holiness; and the sacred water a cure for all ills and a magical protection. Or he may fall in with some who sow doubts in his mind as to what he will gain from external ritual. There have always been Hindus who question the efficacy of the rites; perhaps they are more numerous today than ever before, even within the Holy City itself. They would conserve the symbolism of essential Hinduism, both in the great centers and in the humble villages, but teach their co-religionists the supreme value of the devout mind. They openly condemn the primitive magic so widely current. There is no doubt, however, that the average Hindu pilgrim is still driven by a great compulsion: the sanctity of his shrines, the power of his priests, and the merit of his ceremonial. It is probable that our young pilgrim will return with a sense of merit, and with merit for his aged mother as well, so pre-eminent is Banaras, the seat of all the gods!

PILGRIM CENTERS. One may encounter pilgrims in all parts of India at all seasons, for holy places are many, and each has its auspicious time. There are, as well, periodic occasions of unusual importance. The native calendar lists several scores of festivals, most of which may be celebrated by the faithful at or near their homes. Some, however, call for a journey, if possible. At times (at all new moons and certain times of full moon) sea-bathing is especially meri-

torious, for example, at Somnath, on the coast of Kathiawar. Eclipses of the sun or the moon call for special devotion, often at special sites. And many a pilgrim seeks the merit of a tour to all the major holy places. Conveyances of all sorts, including trains, are used, but the pilgrimage done on foot brings the most reward. The follower of Shiva may go first to Banaras, then to Nasik (about a hundred miles northeast of Bombay), where among the temples is one of extreme sanctity marking the site where Rama, Sita, and Lakshman once worshiped Shiva, thence to the far south, perhaps to Madura or to further Rameshwaram which, although a Ramaite or Vishnuite shrine, contains a *lingam* placed there by Rama himself and is daily washed with sacred Ganges water. From the far south he may make his slow way to Kalighat, within the Calcutta area, and there for the sake of inward power observe the outward form of animal sacrifice to Shiva's consort Kali. Last of all the pilgrim may cross over to Somnath on the Arabian Sea and gaze, if he be of the twice-born, on the well-guarded and highly efficacious *lingam* of the Great God. In the end he may return permanently to Banaras, "to live there in order to die there" with the best prospects for the hereafter.

The follower of Vishnu may make the rounds of Muttra, Allahabad, Dwaraka, and Jagannath Puri. Muttra is situated a hundred miles south of Delhi. It is the reputed birthplace and residence of Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu. Nearby is Mahaban, the "great forest" where the babe Krishna was once hidden to save him from death at the hands of an angry uncle. Nearby, also, is Vrindaban, where Krishna the Cowherd sported with the *gopis*, the milkmaids, and stole their garments while they bathed. There are many magnificent shrines in the Muttra area. Allahabad (ancient Prayag) rests seventy-five miles west of Banaras at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna rivers, and, they say, a third river, the Saraswati, comes up here and joins these two from its subterranean channel. The conjunction of these three(?) streams makes the site of Allahabad unusually beneficial, and worship is rendered

here to both Shiva and Vishnu. But to Vishnu homage is done annually (about the middle of February) in connection with the beginning of the Indian spring. It is a time of rejoicing and of hope. Vishnu's son Kama, god of love, is also worshiped then. It is an auspicious time for beginnings: betrothals, marriages, and lessons. Dwaraka, by the sea at the western tip of Gujarat, is one of India's holiest places and is especially revered by Vishnuites. It is the reputed royal city of Krishna, the "Lord of Dwaraka," and is a place of miracle. The shrine of Jagannatha, "Lord of the World," is eastward a thousand miles from Dwaraka, at Puri, on the Bay of Bengal. Jagannatha is the god Vishnu in the form of Krishna (not the Cowherd, in this instance, but a nobler form); his image, although rudely carved, is said to have two eyes and a soul; the god is immensely popular because in his presence all castes are equal. The pilgrim may choose for his visit the time when the image of the god is bathed, or, preferably, the slightly later time of the Car Festival (June or July) when the image is taken, along with images of Jagannatha's brother, Balarama, and his sister, Subhadra, from their inner sanctuary on the "car-journey" to the Garden House a mile northward, where it stays for eight days until drawn back to the temple. After the elaborate ceremonies the pilgrim will bathe at the "door of Paradise," on the seashore, and crown the pilgrimage with absolution.

Shivite pilgrims and Vishnuite pilgrims do not go separate ways and worship at exclusive shrines. Such exclusiveness is foreign to Hinduism. Centers of pilgrimage are places of common resort, even though tradition may assign and practice may preserve something of sectarian character to each. In viewing Hinduism externally, we wish to comprehend what Hinduism is by seeing it in operation at particular centers, which would be the process of acquaintance if we were actually travelers in India.

PRIVATE WORSHIP. We should include private as well as public worship, for in family worship we may witness aspects of the ancestral cult which plays so large a role in

Hinduism. Take the Brahman householder. The duties of religious exercise are his concern above all other men, unless it be the *sadhu*, the *sannyasi*, or the pilgrim. His morning ablutions are performed in the spirit if not in the form of worship at a stream, or a pond (*talau*), or the well in his garden, accompanied, perhaps, by an invocation to the sacred rivers to be present in the water he uses. He calls upon Hari (Vishnu) or Hara (Shiva), or both, and repeats the ancient *gayatri*, the prayer to the sun. He puts on his forehead the sign (*tilak*) of his god, and in privacy continues the morning ritual, with the recognition of various great gods and their family ancestors, and the mention of the names of himself, his family, and his clan. The Sanskrit prayer to the sun, the most sacred of Hindu prayers, enters largely into the daily worship:

Om bhur-bhuvah suvah
 Om tatsavitur varenyam
 Bhargo devasya drimahi
 Dhiyo yonah prachodayat ⁶

Which means, in English,

Om, earth, atmosphere and sky:
 Om, that desirable splendor of Savitri (i.e., the sun);
 May we obtain (or, meditate upon) that splendor of the god!
 And may he inspire our thoughts!

Prayers are prescribed for the midday and the evening, and these, along with the morning prayer, are performed by all adherents of ancient Brahmanical tradition, either directly or by proxy through a *purohit* or priest. Before taking food at midday, the householder, or the priest on his behalf, does homage to the family gods in what we should call the kitchen. In a Brahman household the kitchen is as sacred as a private chapel. The images are bathed, marked with sacred signs, and placed upon a low stool. Little lamps are lit before them, camphor burned, a small bell rung, and prayers offered; offerings of food are made and sips taken of the water used to bathe the images. Evening prayer pre-

cedes the evening meal, and the pious Hindu may pray again before retiring. In the household of the pious non-Brahman there are simpler and briefer, but nonetheless regular, daily rites to the more popular deities and the spirits of dead ancestors. The Shudras, the lowest caste, do not neglect religious observance, but both their notions and their practices are uncouth, being merely crude *linga-puja*, "worship of the *linga*" of Shiva, with petitions to ancestral spirits and to various demons.

CASTE. Hinduism is not so much one religion as many religions. The designation is comparatively modern and is applied to a content which has altered from age to age, from community to community. An increasing complexity is noticeable throughout the centuries, a complexity of ideas and forms which defy exact description, even by Hindus. Legend accounts for many of them, but legends often vary, though the subject be the same. The social compartmentalization known as caste has serious religious significance and figures largely, although it cannot always be said whether caste is cause or effect. Certainly caste (Indian *varna*) in its strict meaning is something peculiarly and distinctly Hindu; it is essentially unlike any phenomenon elsewhere, the classes in Chinese, Greek, or English society notwithstanding. In theory, there are four major castes, but in reality there may be three thousand lesser but mutually exclusive divisions. The four are:

Brahman, or "priestly" (although not all Brahmans are priests)
 Kshatriya, or "warrior" and kingly
 Vaishya, or "vassal," the present mercantile groups
 Shudra, or "clean" (ceremonially), the present agricultural
 and artisan groups

Members of the first three bear the designation of *dwija*, or "twice-born," and wear or are entitled to wear the sacred thread (*upanayana*, or *yajnopawitam*). For the Shudra there is no initiation, or "second birth," and he wears no sacred thread. The *sannyasi*, at the other extreme, does not

wear the thread; he has entered upon the last stage of existence in this life and his own manifest character is his distinction. Ordinarily the Brahman boy is invested with the sacred thread at eight years of age, the Kshatriya at eleven, and the Vaishya at twelve. The Shudra's only hope of investiture lies in a possible rebirth into a higher caste in the next round of his existence.

The Brahmans, about one third of the total number of *dwijas*, are the elite of Hinduism. The Brahmans who do not serve religion directly are engaged in educational, administrative, and other higher service. They may be land-owners, office clerks, in clerical service with the railways, or teachers. They are widely distributed throughout the whole social order. They have been dominant for twenty-five hundred years, since approximately 500 B.C. When the Aryans came into India the warriors took the lead in conquest and in settlement. When their work was done, the Brahman, as the minister of religion, the custodian of learning, and the teacher, gradually gained the ascendancy. He tended to keep his stock pure, whereas the other Aryan classes intermarried with the indigenous peoples. The Indian population became Brahmanized, and the social classification prevails to this day. All Hindus have a Brahman consciousness. They recognize the privileged priestly order, accept its superiority and its ministrations, and depend upon its leadership and authority in religious interpretation and cultural advance. This supremacy, arising first in upper-central India, in the *madya-desha*, spread into all parts of the land, notably the south, gaining unquestioned sway. In South India an extraordinary contrast between Brahman and non-Brahman developed. Over all India, but particularly in the south, the outcaste became conspicuously distinct from the non-Brahman, and has remained without the pale of the Brahmanized order. Buddhism was, to a degree, a development out of, and a reaction against, Brahmanism, and it carried on the conflict through several hundred years. Other movements, including the

non-Brahman movement of our day, have throughout the centuries sought independence of the Brahmans, but Hinduism is still ruled by Brahman power.

ORIGINS OF CASTE. It took centuries and almost inexplicable circumstance for such a system to develop. One can point to a time in Indian history when there was no caste, probably three thousand years ago. When the Aryans came they found multitudes of people whom they called *dasyus*, evil beings, enemies of gods and men. Stand, if you will, in imagination, among the rudely built huts in an ancient Punjab village. About you are "mostly a comely folk, tall, and clean-limbed, and rather fair of skin, with well-cut features, and straight noses; but among them are not a few squat and ugly men and women, flat-nosed, and nearly black in colour, who were once the free dwellers in the land, and now have become slaves and serfs to their Aryan conquerors." ⁷ At the same time, to the south, are Kolarian and Dravidian peoples, of whom no ancient descriptions are available. We know them through modern records alone, except as the Aryans noticed them in their early accounts. In general, we may ignore the Kolarian and equally primitive stocks which still number ten million, and dwell upon the interaction of Aryan and Dravidian in the making of Indian religion and civilization. Thus we may account for the continued importance of race, color, and religious consciousness in Hinduism. On the one hand, there were the "white-hued," straight-nosed, sacrificial, and godly Aryans, as they themselves said; on the other, were the "noseless" (i.e., snub-nosed), "black-skinned," "riteless," and "godless" *dasyus*. It need not be assumed that the Dravidians were so unlike the Aryans; at least the true Dravidian of South India had a culture of his own which still predominates.

PRESENT STATUS OF CASTE. Caste today is in the process of change. In the large industrial cities of India people of different castes are compelled to work together, eat together, pursue their recreation together, travel in the same public conveyances, and live together in the same neigh-

borhoods. Inevitably, with the expanding influence of the industrial age, the caste system must loosen its grip, although this will be a long process with greatest resistance in rural regions. According to an Indian scholar,

There are three main attitudes towards caste today. Some persons believe that the caste system is the creation of god, that it is governed by the inexorable law of karma, that it still has its uses, and that therefore it must not be, nay, cannot be supplanted under any circumstances. This view is too reactionary in the context of the conditions at present prevailing in India to deserve serious consideration. There are others who would like to see the present three thousand or more castes grouped together into the four basic social orders of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras and to preserve the caste system in that form. It is easily seen that such a combination of castes is neither possible nor desirable.

The third attitude toward caste today is that of the social reformers who advocate a complete extermination of castes by all possible means. It is now realized that in spite of geographical, climatic, racial, religious, and linguistic diversity, India possesses a fundamental cultural unity. It is rightly pointed out that the gravest evil of the caste system is that it has rendered Indian society undemocratic and a sociological myth. One, therefore, feels inclined strongly to support the plea that an active nation-wide campaign be launched against caste, both through governmental and private agencies.

Conditions are changing rapidly in modern India, both in the economic and the social spheres, bringing about many changes in the attitudes towards caste. . . . The belief in the divine origin of caste and its efficacy in preserving racial purity is now completely discountenanced. And the bhakti movement in religion has done much to unite the various castes in a sort of religious democracy.

The caste control of marriage, however, seems to die hard. Even an educated Hindu who claims freedom in the matter of food, social intercourse, occupation, and travel will observe scrupulously the matrimonial rules of caste. This aspect of caste will probably be the last to go. At any rate, it is most reassuring to find it laid down in the constitution of the Indian Republic, which indeed represents the collective will of the people of India, that "the State shall not discriminate against any citizen on the grounds only of religion, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them" and that "untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is prohibited."⁸

HINDU CLASSICS AND DEITIES. The literary development of Hinduism may be more easily followed. Curiously enough the Hindu has not been historically minded; story

rather than history has engaged him. In tracing its literary development we may encounter in bold outline, at least, the progress of the faith itself. In terms of its writings, the story of Hinduism is, successively, that of the *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Law Books*, the *Great Epics* and the *Puranas*, to mention only the major units. The full account of the literature would require an encyclopedia; the units here named are each composite, a series of unique expositions of common matter. The original deposit is the *Vedas*, particularly the *Rig Veda*.

The *Vedas* are four in number: *Rig*, *Yajur*, *Sama*, and *Atharva*. They portray from the *Rig* to the *Atharva* the early orientation of the Indo-European cult to its Indian environment. The *Rig* may be said to reflect the religious ideas which the Aryans brought into India. They came in the freedom and vigor of pastoral peoples. They had domesticated certain animals, with the cow as the chief measure of economic value. Girls were early married by purchase or by capture, and sons were much desired for war, ritual observance, and the perpetuation of the family. Monogamy was the rule, with exogamy between the separate clans. They had a cult of ancestors: they burned or buried the corpse and purified themselves after the funeral; they despatched gifts with the deceased, sometimes offering human sacrifice at the funeral; and they worshiped the departed as the "divine fathers." They were polytheists: they worshiped the "heavenly ones" (the *devas*, or "shiners"), and the sky itself (*dyaush*, *dyu*) seems to have been their chief god. The Sky Father was called "lord" (*asura*), "encompasser" (*varuna*), "true" (*aryaman*), "friend" (*mitra*), and "generous" (*bhaga*); besides, there were Indra of the Rains, the Nasatya horsemen, Yama of the Dead, the ethical Varuna, with hosts of demons. They had their priests for various occasions, but priests did not monopolize worship.

Vedism proper is then a continuation of this older order with new contacts in a new location. The *Rig Veda* is a row of poetic lamps shining full and joyously upon the high

gods, chief of which were Indra, Agni, Soma, and Varuna. The *Atharva Veda*, the last of the four, often treats the gods with cringing fear, reflecting the common religion of the day. The *Rig* is the oldest scripture in Indo-European literature and is probably the oldest surviving document among the sources of the *living* religions of the world. Its gods are not tribal or local; they are nature powers protecting their people, rather than participating in their affairs. Indra is the favorite. He is the thunder-god primarily, armed with lightning and wielding the thunder-bolt, who sets free the all-important rains; he aids his people in battle, or in cattle-raiding; he is the gigantic drinker of *soma*. One fourth of the thousand (1028) hymns of the *Rig* are inscribed to this almost national god. Next in order comes the fire-god Agni; one fifth of the hymns are his. He has a threefold origin: on earth he is "born of the wood"; in the atmosphere he is the lightning; and in the heaven he is the sun. He is a triad, the great priest, and the center of ritual. He has more power than any other to ward off from his people evil spirits and hostile magic. Soma is granted a whole book (No. IX) of the *Rig*, and is mentioned many times elsewhere, as well, for the *Rig* is mainly concerned with the *soma* sacrifice. He is god in his own right, and head of the *soma* cult. Even Indra needed *soma* for strength. He is of both earthly and heavenly origin, even as the plant, his symbol. He is the great object of priestly interest and activity. Although Vedic ritual knew no national worship, no temple service, nor any permanent place of sacrifice, altars might be reared at any house or place. Perhaps a hewn, ornamented sacrificial post was set up, and offerings made of milk, butter, grain, cakes, a goat, a sheep, a cow, or a horse. Thrice daily, morning, noon, and night, the *soma* sacrifice was performed, with pressings of juice mixed with water and with milk, and after each sacrifice gifts were made to the priests. While *Rig Vedic* sacrifice was essentially a gift-offering, there is also evidence of communion, wherein both the one on whose behalf the sacrifice is made and the priests eat of the food after the god has partaken—or drink

of the offerings, as in the case of *soma*. Varuna was somewhat ethically conceived. He is the god of explicit order, which may first have been implicit in the ordinance of the Sky Father, Dyaush. He is a holy god, both as cosmic and ethical order, who witnesses men's deeds everywhere, who protects his own and dissipates their fears and who punishes (usually by disease) the wicked for their sins. He fills the role of a savior-god. These four gods are the chief of the "thirty-three." One goddess is important: Ushas, the dawn, fair and friendly daughter of the Sky, ever young and smiling, who visits daily every household. Two minor(?) deities, Vishnu and Rudra, loom large in the later story: Vishnu later embodies himself in various forms (Krishna, Rama, etc.) for man's good, and Rudra, often malevolent at first, becomes the "auspicious" (*shiva*) Great God Shiva.

The *Atharva Veda* portrays the religion of the fire cult, the cult of the sacred cow, and tree and serpent worship. Agni is its leading deity. It has much to say of "breaths" and their uses; it abounds in charms to secure luck, love, and victory, or to ward off coughs, leprosy, foes, and death. Its magic eclipses the power of Soma, and the magician is often stronger than the gods. It has a beautiful hymn to Varuna, who beholds men close at hand, knows what they whisper together, counts the twinklings of their eyelids, and ensnares the men who lie. There is a noble hymn to Skambha, the "supporter" of order, faith, duty, and truth, and the Supreme God. The *Atharva* is what every subsequent composite writing is—a mixture of the lofty, the commonplace, and the absurd. One should not lose sight, however, of the lofty, which is the burden of our present task. All the *Vedas*, the *Rig*, *Yajur*, *Sama*, and *Atharva*, are regarded by pious Hindus as *sruti*, or truth divinely revealed, or "heard," in contradistinction to the writings called *smriti*, or "remembered." Of course, the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*, largely commentaries on the *Vedas*, or philosophical treatises based on Vedic concepts, are *sruti*, also.

The *Brahmanas* as ritual commentaries owe their origin to priests. The priests by that time (about 850 B.C.) had

assumed the leadership in society and religion. A legend asserts that Rama of the Axe cleared the earth of Kshatriyas and gave it to the Brahmans. More likely the Brahmans gained ascendancy through devotion to ritual and learning and the favor which they found with both kings and people. Certainly the tradition grew of the magical powers of the priestly caste, and the *Brahmanas* are witness to the potency of sacrifice at priestly hands. The notion was held that priests through sacrifice might themselves become divine. One of the *Brahmanas* has it that there are two kinds of gods: the gods are gods, and the priests are gods. Many older elements were made over by the priests to reflect glory on themselves. The *Brahmanas* set forth explicitly the details of the ceremonial. Each of the *Vedas* is commented upon toward this end and its essence elaborated into intricate ritual, which only a learned priest could control. While a few of the priests—so the records go—engaged in honest speculation about reality and the function of religion, most of them were a pampered lot who at best indulged in the formulation of new rules of sacrifice, deceptive and compelling plays around the sacrificial post.

The *Upanishads*—out of over a hundred a dozen are of real importance—are philosophical. Whereas the *Brahmanas* have to do with “works,” the *Upanishads* have to do with “knowledge,” the knowledge known to the inner circle of the enlightened few. This knowledge is exalted and expounded as a means to desired ends, and not of value in itself alone. As the priestly sacrifice had magical power, so also the right knowledge is magical. What is the right knowledge and what it gains remain for us to discover later. The goal of Hinduism is to be attained, so far as the philosophers are concerned, by knowing rather than by doing. The knower may ignore the gods as well as the ritual and in his wisdom become God. There is, therefore, apparent conflict between the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*, although the latter reflect no such exclusiveness as the *Brahmanas*. The *Upanishads* seem to indicate that caste, as well as theology, was still in process of transition. Certainly the

Upanishads insist that knowledge is not the exclusive prerogative of one group, Brahman or any other. There is not even in the *Upanishads* a philosophical point of view thoroughly systematized; there are only random speculations about the primal entity, the real, and the processes of life. We shall notice later the "six philosophies" upon which these treatises rest.

THE GOLDEN AGE. The *Law Books*, the *Dharma-sutras* and the *Dharma-shastras* (*dharma*, "law"), originated in the dim period before the Christian Era. The great epics, too, come out of this age. It is the Golden Age of Sanskrit literature, although the works which compose it are merely *smriti* in the religious view. The "Laws" of Manu form the basis of the system of Hindu jurisprudence, although many scholars nowadays think that Manu has been taken much too seriously. The laws deal with every phase of life and conduct: the duties of caste, and caste insignia; the divisions, or *ashramas*, of life; students and their discipline; duties of the householder to his family and his guests; laws of inheritance, recovery of debts, the payment of taxes and rates of interest; punishments and penance for sins; begging and the distribution of alms; ascetic practices in relation to transmigration and the attainment of final bliss, and so forth. In this era the shudras, fourth caste, are an established order. Caste is complete, and one detects the beginning of the formal theory of defilement and untouchability.

The great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, purport to be history, and are therefore *itihasas*; but *itihasa*, the term for "history," means rather legendary history. The materials are first "history" (referring to about 600–400 B.C.) and later, "religion." As religious works they date from about the second century B.C. to about A.D. 200 and include in addition to theology materials of various other kinds—a great deal of politics, for example. The background extends from above Delhi into the Ganges-Jumna intersection and on into South India. The works are of enormous size, the *Mahabharata* having 220,000 lines, and the *Ramayana*, 96,000. Obviously, the poems are of composite authorship.

There is in neither one any consistent viewpoint; extremes of many sorts are exhibited: warfare is now sheer barbarism, now according to rules; the lusty warrior Bhima drinks blood from the skull of a foe, but many warriors are altogether anemic; polyandry is a recognized institution, yet there is the noble and beautiful episode of Nala and Damyanti; caste is dominant, and the Brahmans fight. Polytheism prevails, there are no sects; every man worships all the gods, and the gods are possessed of qualities both human and divine. Action rather than thought rules the scene, although the famous *Bhagavad-gita*, the "Lord's Song," embedded in the *Mahabharata*, includes much philosophy. In both, the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration are assumed, but not developed. The plot of the *Mahabharata* is the war between the five sons of Pandu and the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, his brother. The sons of Pandu win. Rama is one of the heroes. The *Ramayana*, the "adventures of Rama," celebrates the love of Rama and Sita, the exploits of Rama, the abduction of Sita by a demon king, and Rama's recovery of her, with the final translation of Rama to heaven. Both epics have acquired a peculiar sanctity. He who reads or listens to the reading of the *Mahabharata* with faith may enjoy long life, an agreeable reputation, and ascent to heaven. Equal good may accrue to *Ramayana* readers. The episodes, well known and popular, are rehearsed nightly to listening millions. The chief characters are sculptured in stone about the temples, carved in the woodwork of homes, graven on metal household utensils, painted on the walls of houses and temples, and—in recent years—presented on the screen.

The *Puranas* are religious poems which share with the epics the love of the common people. Tradition says there are eighteen *Puranas*. They are late, in spite of their general title (*purana* means "old"); they presuppose the epics, at least. They, too, are collections of diverse materials: creation stories, the "ages" of the world, genealogies and legends of the gods, dynastic tales, sectarian dogmas and ceremonials; philosophy, politics, medicine, grammar, and art;

descriptions of sacred sites and the pilgrimage, etc. The *Vishnu Purana* is the scripture of the Vaishnava (Vishnuite) sect. It is devoted to Krishna as Vishnu's representative, but delights in erotic touches of Krishna's youth. It discusses the earth, the duties of students, the virtues of the Ganges, Buddha's false teachings, the four castes, the dissolution of the world, and the true end of man.

KEY WORDS. This rapid, chronological view of the greater works of Hindu literature has provided us the essential background for a comprehension of the long development of Hinduism as religion. We do well to think in terms of Vedic, Brahmanic, Upanishadic, legal-epic, and Puranic, which serve India as Saxon, Norman, feudal, Stuart, and Victorian serve England. However, as we have been at pains to show, Hinduism is to an extraordinary and confusing degree the present fruit of *all* those eras. Certain conspicuous words current in Hinduism today might be cited in illustration of the development and permanence of the main ideas. They are *key words* to the situation, in spite of the fact that their meanings and their uses have varied slightly from time to time. Here they are, in something of verifiable sequence: *rita*, *veda*, *karman*, *brahman*, *sruti*, *maya*, *prana*, *atman*, *ashramas*, *punarjanman*, *dharma*, *ahimsa*, *smriti*, *yoga*, *shakti*, *avatara*, *mukti-moksha*, and *bhakti*. What do they mean, in ordinary usage? When did they come into use? *Rita*, *veda*, *karman*, *brahman*, and *sruti*, are assuredly Vedic. (1) *Rita* means "order": cosmic, ritualistic, and ethical. (2) *Veda* means "wisdom": divine wisdom which the gods impart to man; and the primary Indian record of the gift, its qualities, and its use, as in the four *Vedas*. Its further record is found in the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*; certain Hindu sects have claimed that other writings, also, are really *veda*. (3) *Karman*, or, more familiarly, *karma*, means "action, deed, effect, or fate"; it is the mysterious power which produces action to this or that end. (4) *Brahman* (neuter) meant at first the "holy power" within the universe, akin, perhaps—but more generalized—to the *mana*, *orenda* of primitives; it came to stand

for the cosmic principle which produces, organizes, and informs the universe. It absorbed the functions of other principles and the forms of many gods, and came to mean the All, the Absolute. (5) *Sruti* is what is "heard," or "revealed"; writings which contain *veda* are *sruti*. This theory is analogous to the doctrines of revelation and inspiration in such religions as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Maya, *prana*, *atman*, the *ashramas*, *punarjanman* (re-birth), and *dharma* are at least Brahmanic. (6) *Maya* probably meant at first "mysterious power"; it came to have the philosophical connotation of "illusion," and "unreality," in which sense it differed widely from the holy "power," *Brahman*, Reality. (7) *Prana* is "breath, vital spirit, life," which plays a considerable part in later ascetico-mystical practices, such as *yoga*. (8) *Atman*, like *Brahman*, may be traced in a series of meanings, connoting "wind, breath, self, and essential nature." Soon the two terms were interchangeable. Later they became identical in idealistic philosophy; *Brahman* equals *Atman*, and *Brahman* did service for the two. (9) The *ashramas* were early established "stages" of human life, applicable especially to Brahmins, whereby education, the family, and the religious career were provided for each man. (10) *Punarjanman* means nothing more than "rebirth," a concept out of which grew the sweeping theory of transmigration, which when linked with *karma* took control of human life. Since Upanishadic times, *karma* and transmigration have entered into every phase of Hindu thought. Involved in a recurring cycle of rebirth, one's destiny is fixed by *karma*. (11) *Dharma* has a wealth of meaning, but refers primarily to "duty," or a code of duty. Great stress is laid on duty (conduct), although much liberty of thought is tolerated. The *Gita* commends "the performer of the good, and not the believer in this or that view." *Dharma* is right action, virtue (cf. Chinese *jen* and *teh*), the path of discipline, the harmony which underlies life and things, the inner law for each man and group, and the very truth of things—(how like the *Tao*!).

These eleven concepts form the ground of philosophy,

especially Upanishadic, which carried further the early speculation involving Varuna, Agni, Prajapati, Purusha, and other powers and essences. In the Upanishadic era, also the time of the Jain and Buddhist "heresies," *ahimsa*, *smriti*, *yoga*, and *shakti* became current. (12) *Ahimsa* means "non-injury," or regard for the sanctity of all life. The concept entered prominently into the thought of the day. While the Jains, in particular, have pressed it to an extreme, Buddha had a moral use for it, and it is a characteristic and compelling theory in Hinduism. (13) *Smriti* is "remembered," that is, tradition, in contrast with revelation. Thus are designated, usually, the writings whose base is not strictly *veda*, such as the philosophies (the *darsanas*, "investigations, teachings"), epics, law-books, etc. (14) *Yoga* has varied meanings—magic, spell, means, contact, propriety, mental concentration, and the union of the soul and nature; and a system of philosophy and practice bears the name. (15) *Shakti* is a word for "power, energy, efficacy, the female energy" (e.g., the wife) of a deity, especially Shiva. (16) In the legal-epic era the term *avatara*, a "coming down," or incarnation of the gods, came into common use, especially with reference to Vishnu, who chose this method of serving mankind. (17) From this era came the terms *mukti* and *moksha*, meaning "salvation, or release," i.e., from *karma* and transmigration. In previous times men had relied upon "works," or "knowledge"; thereafter, they might avail themselves of more direct help of the gods. (18) In Puranic times the idea of *bhakti*, "devotion," flowered as a full-fledged theistic doctrine. It became a recognized way of *mukti*, or *moksha*, in the name of Shiva, or of Vishnu in one of his *avatars*. Into the conception was poured a content similar to the "faith, hope, and love" of the Apostle Paul. These eighteen words are our irreducible minimum vocabulary for knowing Hinduism, not the terms themselves, perhaps, so much as the ideas which they represent.

MODERN SECTS. Modern Hindu theology—we are thinking of theology rather than of philosophy, of "gods" (*theoi*, *deva*) rather than of "wisdom" (*sophia*)—recognizes a great

triad of gods, Brahma (masculine), Shiva, and Vishnu, but we hear little of Brahma, and we know Vishnu best through his *avatars*, Rama and Krishna. Shiva we know by his own name. Brahma was early a personified power who in the *Brahmanas* was identified with the nature-father-god, Dyaush-pitar, and made head of the priestly pantheon. He was a busy deity until the first centuries of the Christian era, creating, protecting, and destroying; but after all he was essentially a philosophical conception (his name is personalized from the same root as *brahman*, "power, breath, mind") which could have little bearing upon the practical affairs of men, so he has passed out of sight. In all India, Brahma has not half a dozen temples, and it is doubtful that he is portrayed by image anywhere. He is one of the "high gods" to whom worship is no longer paid.

SHIVA. Shiva, on the other hand, is Mahadeva, "Great God." At first he was merely a name; the adjective *shiva* meant "auspicious." Many of the early gods were deemed *shiva*, productive and protective. Rudra of the braided hair, unimportant as a Vedic deity, in the Brahmanic era is a most "auspicious" god. Formerly, he was regarded as vengeful and terrible. Was he later called *shiva* in flattery, to make him so? He was the slayer of cattle and prone to slay men. Even the gods feared him lest he slay them. He slew his father, Prajapati, for consorting with his own daughter. But with all his malevolence Rudra was a god of healing, and could restore what had been dissolved. He becomes Shiva, the most popular of all the gods, with his special seat at Banaras, where he is worshiped under the name of Vishveshvara, or "Lord of all." He has his own particular abode, the celestial Mount Kailása, or is this a mountain of the Himalayas? In many homes and temples, brass representations of his heaven in ridged, conical form are found. There are many associates of Shiva who are terrible and destructive; nevertheless, they, with himself, are looked to for salvation (*mukti*). Many are beneficent. Shiva's wife is Devi, "goddess," Mahadevi, "great goddess," Parvati, "mountaineer," Uma, "light," Gauri, "brilliant," Durga, "inaccessible"

(the patroness, for example, of the Thugs), and Kali, "black" (the "mother" in Bengal). Ganesha, "chief of attendants," is Shiva's son by Parvati the Mountaineer. He is god of wisdom and the remover of obstacles; his symbol, the elephant head (the elephant is both wise and powerful), is found in Shiva's temples. Nandi, chamberlain to Shiva and guardian of the quadrupeds, appears in Shivite temples in the form of a bull, often milky white, lying prone. These are the holy family of Shivism, grouped in a temple with Shiva's pillar in the center of the altar: symbolized by the pillar, a head or bust of his consort, the elephant head, and the image of the bull. In thought and in writing Shiva is often represented as a fair-skinned man, his body smeared with ash, with a wealth of matted hair gathered into a coil on the top of his head, a third eye in the center of his brow, a collar of serpents and a string of skulls about his neck, holding a trident in his hand. He is occasionally represented with four arms and, at such times, with five or six faces. The composite photograph speaks of universal power.

SHAKTISM. One very significant association with Shiva is known as *shaktism*. *Shakti* is "power, or activity." In the popular mind, the vengeful, destructive qualities of Shiva have come to be exercised more by his consorts, Durga, the "inaccessible," and Kali, the "black." Uma and Gauri are gentle forms of his *shakti*. There is extensive worship of Shiva's female energy, especially in its baleful forms. "Right-hand" *shaktism* is comparatively decent and by a purified devotion may become exalted. When Kali or Durga is taken as the "merciful mother" and the "savior of sinners," as she sometimes is, her worship exhibits elevation of mind and sincere conduct. Tagore wrote, "Mother, I shall weave a chain of pearls for thy neck with my tears of sorrow . . . and when I bring it to thee as my offering, thou rewardest me with thy grace" (*Gitanjali*, No. 83). Many modern poets, especially in Bengal, sing of the "mother of the universe," "Shiva's queen," "the happy one in my heart," "that Kali of the thought," "Durga whose name is the promised land of salvation," the "stony-hearted girl," "little mother Uma,"

"Durga who feeds the world," and "Kali who drives man round and round the wheel of being." The burden of the poetry is that the "name," or the "feet" of the Mother (the prostrate worshiper humbly calling on the goddess) are more efficacious than austerities or pilgrimages. "Left-hand" *shaktism*, however, exhibits much that is terrible and vile. In it the goddess is the energy especially concerned with sexual intercourse—Shiva is the god of reproduction, it is well to recall—and with magical performances and powers. At Kalighat, near Calcutta,⁹ bloody sacrifice is offered to the goddess. Human sacrifices once were offered. At various shrines, indecent, orgiastic rites are observed in her name, as the "black" Kali, the "inaccessible" Durga, or the "great" Mahadevi. The barbarities of the annual Durga-puja, "Durga-worship," celebrate her powers and propitiate her favors. There are "rules" and a literature of this left-hand *shaktism*, found generally in the *Tantras*. It is a late, post-Puranic aspect of Hinduism, having five requisites: wine, flesh, fish, grain, and women. Tantric *shaktism* is obviously a survival and a recrudescence of a phase of original Indian religion, a perversion of the view that divinity is both male and female. But on its higher side *shaktism* is a religion of the Motherhood of God.¹⁰ Shiva's *shakti* claims the worship of the majority in Bengal, but it is revered and feared throughout India.

Shiva is Maha-yogi, the Great Ascetic. He sits in age-long meditation; he haunts the burning-ghats; he is god of the sadhus, a multitude which man can scarcely number. He is the god of "works" and of those who depend upon works for peace of mind and final salvation. Several millions are completely devoted to religion; they have taken the religious way for life, giving themselves entirely to continual austerity, to forms and ceremonies. Sadhus and Yogis, whose only pursuit is religion, are mostly followers of Shiva Maha-yogi. All are seeking merit against the time of rebirth, hoping for passage on the "last journey." In Shiva is centered "the highest perfection of austere penance and abstract meditation, by which the most unlimited pow-

ers are attained, miracles are worked, the highest spiritual knowledge acquired, and union gained eventually with the great spirit of the universe." The common man may imitate Shiva's austere penance; the intellectual may meditate abstractly on the god. The common man may seek magical power; the intellectual, spiritual knowledge. Both seek union at last with the great spirit of the universe. What Shiva is may be shown by a mosaic of words from South Indian (Tamil) devotees; he is the ash-smeared and ever-undefiled lord of the burning-ground, both lord and lady, the pith of holy writ, the lord of wisdom, head of the heavenly ones, the forgiver of sin, the dispenser of grace, the lord of life, dweller in the thought of the good, the most real to man in the hour of death, the source of all, and older than the oldest and newer than all that is new.

In modern Hinduism, Shiva is virtually a sectarian deity, sectarian since as early as 300 B.C. During the Epic and Puranic periods his followers became remarkably exclusive. Such a phenomenon would seem to indicate, contrary to our previous remarks, a lack of tolerance on the part of Hinduism. Not so. Indian sectarianism, unlike that of Christianity, is an assertion of superiority of a religious order which *includes* rather than excludes details of other orders. In this sense Shiva is still the All-god of the early Upanishadic centuries; but as modern polytheism developed, Shiva, to his own followers, remained "head of the heavenly ones"; and Shivism has not usually excluded anything not itself exclusive. Indian sectarianism is a matter of practice and not of theory, which agrees with our observation that Hinduism is intellectually tolerant. A Hindu may *think* as he pleases, without disadvantage to his religious status, but is careful, possibly intolerant, with respect to religious *acts*. Yet within Shivism are many subdivisions resting upon divergencies of, and often opposition to, formal observance. The million Lingayats, for example, who are the greatest Shivite sect of South India, are strict vegetarians, and total abstainers from spirituous liquors. They condemn child marriage, and permit the remarriage of widows. They recognize no

caste distinctions, and they bury their dead. They reject the authority of the *Vedas* as *sruti*, and the Brahman priesthood. On the side of theology, Shivism has allied itself more with systems of dualism, which accord reality to matter, than with idealistic thought which makes material unreal.

VISHNU. The third member of the modern triad is Vishnu, the "pervasive," active deity. He and Shiva in reality divide between them almost the whole field; Brahma, we saw, is negligible. While Shiva is the more popular and more widely recognized, Vishnu has more followers who are devoted to one god alone. But Vishnu is worshiped through his forms; in fact, more through his forms than in his own person. While Shiva has many names, many functions, and many associates, Vishnu has *avatars*, "descents, embodiments, incarnations" and has been worshiped mainly through them.

Vishnu was an Aryan solar deity in the *Rig Vedic* period. He seems to have filled a minor role; at least, he is not mentioned as often as Indra, Agni, and Soma. His importance increased, however, with passing years and with the passage of the Aryans further into India. He comes to be identified with the increasingly prominent institution of sacrifice and is at last elevated to conspicuous rank. In the Brahmanic era he assumes, along with Rudra, the leading place in the living faith. Called Narayana, "moving upon the waters," he was identified with the creator Brahma, whose first place of motion was the waters (*nara*). His symbol is a fish and the bird, Garuda, his mount. He is assigned a residence in heaven, designated Vaikuntha and given Lakshmi, Saraswati, and other wives. In this era he displays his peculiar power to "descend," or incarnate himself. In the Epic period he became the second member of the great triad. He is at that time the embodiment of all-pervading mercy, and goodness; he is self-existent and preserving spirit; he was especially active when iniquity was triumphant and religion was in danger. In these crises, he issued forth "for the defense of the good and the suppression of the wicked, and for the

establishment of justice," as the *Gita* puts it (4:7-8), and his forth-coming was that of the *avatara*. Hinduism understands that this "incarnation" of Vishnu was not his mere self-manifestation in a human form, but a real incarnation, the god dwelling for the time within a human form. He was truly god and truly man at the same time, touched with the feeling of men's infirmities, and yet their savior from their distresses. This doctrine of the *avatara* was highly important for the development of Hinduism, both in its loftier meaning and in its less reasonable, as well. It not only brought god down to men, but it enabled Vishnuism to attach to itself a host of gods and demons as manifestations of Vishnu, even including forms of animal worship with the higher polytheism. In consequence, the divisions within Vishnuism outnumber, if anything, those of Shivism.

Vishnu is represented as having "descended" many times as animal or man. Once the number stood at ten, but additions have been made. In theory, the possible number is indefinite, if not infinite. Thus Hinduism claims Mahavira, who founded Jainism and Buddha himself among the later *avatars*, and no doubt Mahatma Gandhi will be so regarded. Of the *avatars*, however, two only are significant for current and modern Vishnuism, namely, those as Krishna and as Rama.

KRISHNA. The Krishna incarnation is possibly the older of the two; certainly it is the more popular. But there are *two* Krishnas which we must take into account, now separate, and again united into one. There is Krishna known as Vasudeva, and there is Krishna the Cowherd. Vasudeva may have been an early, religious reformer—a warrior-priest—whose son was Krishna. At any rate, long before the Epic period, there was a movement of monotheism carried on by Vasudeva-Krishna who sought to exalt God under the name of Bhagavata, "the Adorable." The reformer seems himself to have become the Adorable, the Bhagavata, the one God who loves mankind, by whose grace men may be saved. This Krishna is the Bhagavata of the original *Bhagavad-gita*, or "Song of the Adorable," a poem of the third, or pos-

sibly even the fourth, century B.C., which commends faith in Krishna as the chief way of salvation. Says the *Gita*, "I, Krishna, am God; I am father, mother, the only lord and refuge; worshipers of me, when they worship, are in me, and I also am in them; he who worships me does not perish." Probably later additions to the *Gita* include: "I am Vasudeva, I am Vishnu (and, even, "I am Rama"); at the end of many births the man of knowledge finds refuge in me, knowing Vasudeva to be the All." Toward the end of the Epic, and during the Puranic era, Krishna is thus identified with Vasudeva and Vishnu as the Supreme Being, the Absolute, and the source and essence of universal Being.

There is the other Krishna, the Cowherd, a musical, mischievous, amorous boy-god of a clan of herdsmen (the Abhiras, or the Yadavas, perhaps). In a manner difficult to explain, unless by the intermingling of clans, Krishna, the youthful lover-god, seems to have become associated with Krishna, the serious, gracious savior-god. The amorous Krishna has persisted in spite of his austerer relative. This is the Krishna of the *Vishnu Purana* (written *ca.* A.D. 400), of the *Gita Govinda* (twelfth century A.D.?), and of one book of the generally lofty *Bhagavata Purana* (ninth century A.D.). Herein he dallies with the cow-girls. Highly wrought passages tell of the power of sensual passion to stimulate devotion, much in the vein of *shakti* worship in Shivism. There are many "Freudian" interpretations in terms of the erotic. Much development of sectarian Vishnuism is colored by this lower quality. In the twelfth-century *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, one of the *gopis*, or "cow-girls," Radha by name, a lower form of Lakshmi, is Krishna's especial mistress. She had won his favor by peculiar devotion in a previous existence. Her worship seems to have been first established about A.D. 1100 at Vrindaban, on the Jumna River above Agra, whence it spread to Bengal. The climax came with the founding by Vallabha, sometime after 1500, of a new sect which held Krishna to be the eternal Brahman (Reality), Radha to be his eternal spouse, devotion to them the means of salvation, and the final goal of man to be living and

sporting forever with Krishna and Radha in the glorious forests of a heavenly Vrindaban. In actual practice this form corresponds with the left-hand *shaktism* of Shivism. The erotic aspects of Vishnuism, however, are confined to relatively small numbers, whose excesses are repugnant to most Hindus.

The higher Krishna is portrayed in the *Bhagavad-gita* and the *Bhagavata Purana*. In the *Gita*, Vasudeva-Krishna-Vishnu as god is a personal, loving savior, who offers men salvation through devotion to himself, and extends his divine grace to consummate their devotion. This is the emphatic theme which tends to make the composite *Gita* a spiritual unity. It portrays exclusively the higher reaches of Vishnuism. Lord Krishna, in the guise of a charioteer conversing en route with the warrior, Arjuna, is made to say—if the extracts be joined together: “I am the lord of born beings”; “I am indifferent to all born beings” (9:29) (he takes no account of caste, being universal savior). “Have thy mind on me, exercise devotion toward me, make thy sacrifice to me, do homage to me. To me thou shalt come. I make thee a truthful promise. Thou art dear to me” (18:65). “One attains by my grace to the everlasting, changeless region.” “He who knows in verity my divine birth and works, comes not again to birth when he has left the body” (4:9). “Cast off all thy works upon me” (9:27) (works are not the means of peace and salvation, save as they are done for Krishna’s sake). “Abandoning all other religions, come for refuge to me alone.” “The enlightened pay worship to me.” Krishna extends salvation to all sinners, to women, tradesmen, and serfs (*shudras*), as well as to righteous Brahmans and devout rajas (4:36; 9:32, 33); devotion, expressed in the technical term *bhakti*, can break the round of births and cancel all evil fruits. At one point in the dialogue, the warrior Arjuna is “smitten with amazement,” bows his head, and, with hands clasped, gives expression to a passionate outburst of adoration of the all-sovereign, radiant, and merciful Lord (11:15 ff.). On the whole, however, the *Gita* is a philosophical poem, not given to a display of emotion. It

makes its appeal to the "enlightened," intellectually and spiritually. The *Bhagavata Purana* displays more the intensity of Vishnuite devotion, and does so by resting upon and idealizing Krishna the Cowherd. It deals with the boyhood of Krishna, and his youth, and makes the love of the *gopis* (cow-girls) for Krishna symbolic of spiritual devotion. How often in religion has the love of God been expounded in the figure of earthly passion, and how often has God been made the sole object of such passion! The *Bhagavata Purana* gives expression to a new theory of devotion (*bhakti*) and contains utterances which, said Farquhar, "are worthy of a place in the best literature" of devotional mysticism.¹¹ He, however, qualifies this somewhat by saying, "Devotion" is "a surging emotion which chokes the speech, makes the tears flow . . . often leads to hysterical laughing and weeping by turns, to sudden fainting fits and to long trances of unconsciousness." All these effects are produced by gazing at images of Krishna, by singing his praises, by remembering him in meditation, and by mingling with his devotees, serving them lovingly, and hearing them tell of his glory and his love. By this new kind of devotion, release (*mukti*, *moksha*) may come speedily, independent of the long cycle of rebirth. The majority of Krishna's devotees follow the interpretation rendered in the *Gita* and the *Bhagavata Purana* at its best. There is no general thought or worship of *two* Krishnas; Krishna is one Lord with many qualities discriminately regarded by each sect in its own way.

RAMA AND SITA. The Rama-*avatara* of Vishnu is more uniformly admirable than Krishna, even though the latter is more popular. Krishna is probably looked upon as more fully a manifestation of Vishnu, and as one with Vishnu himself, while Rama has a slightly more distinct personality of his own, and a more extensive life career. We refer, in particular, to the Rama more exactly known as Rama-chandra (*chandra* means "moon"), and to the Rama cult, which came into existence in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. However, there is indication that two thousand years ago Rama-

chandra was deemed a full incarnation of Vishnu and called the eternal Real (Brahman, the philosophical Absolute of the Upanishads). On the whole, the same theological conceptions have been applied to Rama as to Krishna. The story of Rama is briefly told in a section of the *Mahabharata*, fully told in the *Ramayana*.¹² Rama may have been originally a hero of the northland or a godling of some warrior clan, who through association with Vishnu became a universal god. He is never unchaste or impure, and his bride Sita is the very ideal of Hindu womanhood, matching with her womanly fidelity his own nobility. No story is so loved as that of Rama's trials, Sita's faithfulness, and the final triumph of their virtues. In the original epic of Valmiki, Dasharatha, king of Ayodhya, had three wives, by each of whom he had a son. The sons were Rama, Bharata, and Lakshmana. Rama, his favorite, was the designated successor to the throne of Ayodhya. Bharata's mother plays a trick, unknown to Bharata, whereby Rama is banished for fourteen years; she planned to have her Bharata succeed, meanwhile. Rama, with Sita and his loyal brother Lakshmana, wanders forth an exile. The aged father Dasharatha dies of a broken heart, and Bharata, absent all the while from Ayodhya, was called to the throne. Bharata, loyal to Rama, refuses to take advantage of his mother's ruse, and sets out to seek Rama to persuade him to return as king. But Rama feels bound by their dead father's decree—it has the force of fate—and persuades Bharata to take the throne. Bharata rules as Rama's viceregent, while Rama fulfils his wanderings.

The royal exiles wage combat in the forests with demonic adversaries. One she-demon, captivated by Rama's prowess and noble bearing, makes advances to him. Enraged when she is repulsed by Rama, she enlists her demon brother Ravana against Rama, inciting him further by describing the rapturous beauty of Sita. A decoy demon, in the form of a deer, lures Rama and Lakshmana to the chase. In their absence, Ravana seizes Sita and flies with her through the air to Lanka (Ceylon), his island fastness. Hanuman,

the monkey-god, takes up the search and discovers the place of Sita's captivity. Hanuman's monkeys build a causeway over the watery expanse which he during his search had cleared with a bound, and Rama leads his forces over. Laying siege to Ravana's castle, Rama finally slays Ravana in single combat. Sita is rescued and by ordeal by fire proves her chastity. The triumphant, happy host returns to Ayodhya, where Rama, his exile ended, mounts his throne, with Sita as his queen.

The epic is little more than a hero tale like the Song of Roland or the Song of the Nibelungs. Rama is a prince of heroic proportions, not a god, not even a religious leader. Among the gods, Brahma is the greatest, with Shiva and Vishnu playing leading roles. With Shiva are mentioned his wife, Uma or "Light," a war-god son, and Nandi, his sacred bull. With Vishnu is named his wife, Lakshmi, goddess of fortune; and Vishnu rides upon the sacred bird, Garuda. Additions were made to the original story, several centuries later, and a newer theology introduced. The older polytheism is maintained, with Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu as the greatest gods, but with Rama as Vishnu's partial incarnation upon earth to punish Ravana. Ravana had abused the boon of invulnerability which Brahma had granted him and had done mischief on the earth. In modern times the person and adventures of Rama were further elaborated. In the version by Tulsi Das (a contemporary of our Elizabethans), Rama is a full *avatara* of Vishnu come to rescue men from their miserable estate in wickedness. Just as the original tale may reflect the conflict between Aryans and *dasyus* (especially, the Dravidians), so the *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das doubtless reflects the confusion of his own age. It was the time of the Great Mughal Akbar and the founding of European trading companies in the East. Hinduism had been much affected by Islam. Many reform movements were under way with many reformers abroad, of both low and high caste. Tulsi gives a vivid picture of the sinfulness of the age: "No regard was paid to caste, or to the four stages of life . . . brahmans sold the Vedas, kings de-

voured their subjects . . . the right road was any that most took the fancy, the greatest pundit (teacher) was the one that talked the loudest . . . every boaster was thought a fine fellow, and every liar a wit . . . anyone with unkempt hair and long nails was celebrated as a model of mortification . . . the man was everywhere subject to the woman . . . everyone was addicted to sensuality, avarice, and violence, and flouted the gods, the brahmans, the scriptures, and the saints . . . married women appeared without ornaments, and widows were bedecked with jewels . . . Shudras instructed the twice-born in theology and, assuming the cord, received priestly fees . . . men are reckoned as theologians and philosophers who are merely covetous of their neighbor's wives, clever in trickery, and enmeshed in ignorance and selfishness . . . people of low caste, such as oil-men, potters, dog-feeders, and distillers, turn religious mendicants, and make brahmans touch their feet . . . any naked wretch is an ascetic . . . ascetics amass wealth and mendicants become householders . . . the world neither rewards nor even listens to the poet . . . everyone practices the duties of another station of life than his own, and the endless perversions of morality are beyond all description.”¹³ Not only has India listened to this poet, but the Gospel of Rama is a widespread influence in Hinduism today. Although there are no temple “clerks” to give us figures, there are probably a hundred million Ramaites, most of whom are in central and northern parts.

Amid the wickedness which Tulsi described, Rama is Vishnu fully incarnate come to save men and to bring in the Golden Age of purity, truth, and wisdom, with joy of soul. Rama is “of incomparable beauty; the bodiless, the embodied, the veritable source of every bodily element; the merciful, the mighty-armed, the dispeller of all life's terrors; without beginning, and unborn; the one and indivisible; beyond the reach of all the senses; the friend of the unsensual, the destroyer of lust; at once inaccessible and accessible, the essentially pure, the unfailing comforter whom ascetics behold when they have subdued their mind and

senses; the lord of the three spheres, the terminator of transmigration, whose praises make pure.”¹⁴ To this description of Rama’s qualities, Tulsi adds, “By the grace of Rama every disease is extirpated, with a holy teacher for physician, faith for a prescription, contempt of the world for a regimen, devotion to Hari [*i.e.*, Vishnu] for the life-giving drug, and a soul full of faith in the means of cure. . . . The *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, and all the scriptures declare that without faith in Rama there is no happiness; it would be easier for water to stay on the back of a tortoise, or for the son of a childless woman to be slain, than for any creature to be happy in opposition to Hari. Sooner shall thirst be satisfied by drinking of a mirage, and sooner shall fire appear out of ice, than for anyone to oppose Rama and yet find happiness. . . . Is there any creature, O dull of soul, who has worshiped Rama and not found salvation? . . . In this age of the world there is no other salvation, neither by means of abstraction, sacrifice, prayer, penance, the payment of vows, nor religious ceremonial. Think only of Rama, sing only of Rama, give ear only to Rama’s infinite perfections.”¹⁵ Tulsi was not only a mirror of contemporary Hinduism, but an advocate of faith and morals of a high order. A philosopher, he wrote for the common man.

Among the important contradictions within the Vishnuite Gospel, we should cite the debate between those who attribute to man free will and those who attribute all power to the Divine. There are the two schools. The northern thinks of man’s relations to Rama as cooperative. They are the “monkey-hold” theorists; they believe that Rama saves only if man clings close to him, as the baby monkey clings to its mother in flight. The southern school minimizes man’s part and magnifies Rama’s part in salvation. They are the “cat-hold” theorists; man is like the kitten carried by the nape of the neck. Tulsi belongs to the northern school, which is in the majority. Note what responsibility he imposes upon man himself. His great theme is man’s active devotion (*bhakti*) to Rama.

SALVATION. Vishnuism lays great stress upon *bhakti*,

“devotion,” as a way of salvation. With Shivism, the emphasis is laid upon “works,” although the notion of *bhakti* is not altogether absent. In Vaishnavism there are works to be done, but both in the Gospel of Krishna and in the Gospel of Rama, works are minimized in favor of faith. This is the well-known *bhakti-marga*, or “faith-way” of salvation, as the characteristic Shivite way is the *karma-marga*, or “works-way.” The *bhakti*-way presents a high view of God and man. God is personal and loving, and man is active and devoted. It is suggestive of men’s service to their fellows. One *bhakta* poet has sung:

For men’s saving I make known
 These devices—this alone
 My desire.
 Can my *heart* unmoved be
 When before my eyes I see
 Drowning men?

Bhaktas rely upon faith, love, service, and God’s grace, rather than upon vows, pilgrimages, and sacred rites. Discounting the *jnana-marga*, or “knowledge-way” of the intellectual, they do not look forward to the final absorption of the soul into the All, or the identity of the soul with the impersonal Real. True, there is both high *bhakti*, and low, according to the thought of God’s character. God, to some bhaktas, must be less than pure and holy, for he not only allows but entreats men to worship him through physical love and bodily excesses. To other bhaktas, God requires clean hands and a pure heart of those who seek him. These bhaktas sow to the spirit and of the spirit reap spiritual joy unsullied with carnal elements.

PHILOSOPHY. India has not only been religious; it has been *thoughtfully* religious. Many Indians have paid earnest attention to such matters as have exercised the thought of mankind everywhere. For example, Is there anything real amid the changing scenes of life? What and where is God? What are goodness, truth, and beauty? What are the sources of knowledge? What is the world? Is matter

real? What is the relation of man to God? What is the chief end of man? Whence has man come and whither is he bound? Such questions are more the prerogative of *thought* than of "works," or "faith." Many Hindus have not been content with *doing* things for Shiva, or with giving an *emotional* devotion to Krishna, Rama, or some other god. Rather, they have sought salvation by the *jnana-marga*, or "knowledge-way." They may have relied to some extent upon faith and works, for it is not always possible to discern consistent position on the part of a thinker.

There are six so-called "orthodox" schools of philosophy. They are orthodox because they seek to ascertain the nature of reality and of knowledge from the revealed texts (the texts which are *sruti*). The texts themselves are not systematized; their embodiment of spiritual experiences is not uniform. Seers wrote as the spirit gave them utterance, and their utterances disclose a variety of experiences, each purporting to be a "revelation." The texts are not always letter-perfect, for the early Vedic materials were composed and transmitted orally by priestly singers. Writing was probably unknown in India, or perhaps the *Vedas* were too sacred to be reduced to writing. At any rate, these "hearings" of the "seers" were not written down until the close of the Vedic era (c. 850 B.C.?). They have since provided the basic materials for Hinduism and so have been systematized by scholars, who have made their own interpretations. No one school has been scientifically constructed; the scholars did not employ "pure reason," to use a Kantian phrase.

Once Buddhism proposed to seek knowledge apart from the sacred texts, and many Indians were attracted by the proposal; but when Buddhist speculation, rejecting metaphysics, was seen to end in agnosticism, India turned again to her original stores of wisdom and gave diligent attention to expositions thereof. It seems, however, that the six "schools" developed out of Buddhist speculation, although the dominant Hindu system Vedanta was not fully formulated until the ninth century A.D. It is not our purpose to

examine all the schools; a technical discussion of philosophy is of itself, apart. It concerns us here merely as a means to comprehend the Indian religious mind. These are the "schools," or "demonstrations" (*darsanas*):

1. Nyaya, the "logical," which arrives at conclusions by logical analysis. It relies much upon the five senses, and treats the external world as substantial reality. It recognizes the Supreme Being.
2. Vaisheshika (*vishesha*, "distinction, particularity"), the "atomic" school, which supplemented Nyaya. It maintains the reality of the transient world, composed of differentiable aggregates of eternal particles. It, too, concedes a Supreme.
3. Samkhya, a dualistic, atheistic philosophy of "synthesis." See below.
4. Yoga, or "yoking," akin to Samkhya, but theistic; it holds that philosophy is not sufficient for salvation. Yoga recognizes an all-pervading Spirit, not merely individual souls. The "yoking" of the soul with Spirit brings salvation.
5. Purva-mimamsa, "former inquiry," an idealistic system, but ritualistic. It shares the fundamental theory of the Uttara-mimamsa.
6. Uttara-mimamsa, "latter inquiry," popularly known as Vedanta, the "end of veda."

These "demonstrations" come from an indefinite time, the legal-epic period and later, although their basic stock is Vedic, Brahmanic, and Upanishadic. They represent in part the rethinking of problems raised by Buddhists. Several leading Buddhist thinkers were converted Brahmins. Of Samkhya and Vedanta, possibly the former is the older; the latter is more representative. They do not stand opposed in fundamental theory, but Samkhya is more truly philosophical; Vedanta, more mystical.

SAMKHYA. Samkhya is built of materials from the Upanishads, as other systems also are, but it goes radically beyond such sources. Whereas the Upanishads are devoted to the discovery of the Absolute, the Samkhya denies the Absolute—or, at least, excludes it, or minimizes its importance—and emphasizes the individual soul in the world of the

present. What Samkhya came to be during a long development may be seen in the *Samkhya-karika*, "Samkhya verses," a poem of the fourth century A.D., consisting originally of seventy verses, and attributed to a certain Ishwara Krishna. This poem claims that it is consistent with scripture, with *sruti* materials. It is clear, nevertheless, that the poem's appeal to scripture is more formal than real, and that many of its leading ideas are derived not from the texts, but from independent thought. While it grants that there is some truth in the Vedic tradition, it insists that sincere philosophic thought is sufficient to achieve truth and salvation (*mukti*), without the aid of an inferential Supreme, whether the impersonal Brahman, or the personal Ishwara. It assumes that the world is a place of misery and that the soul is subject to transmigration. Unfortunately, however, it falls into a dualism with no provision for mediation between spirit and nature, or the individual soul and the Absolute. It is fundamental to Samkhya that the essential distinction be observed between the two, between nature and spirit.

Samkhya directs men to fix their gaze upon:

1. *Nature (prakriti)*, the world as they see it. The world they see is real. They may not understand its origin, nor how it became active and productive from its original constituents of "goodness" (*sattva*), "energy" (*rajas*), and "darkness" (*tamas*); but they can perceive it through its products which differ according to the proportion of goodness, energy, and darkness. Nature is essentially other than soul, although somehow it was first stirred to evolution by union with soul. Nature is not, as in the Vedanta, the product of ignorance, being therefore unreal. Nature is as real as soul.

2. Their own *souls (purusha)*. They may not comprehend how the principle of individuation operated to produce so many individual souls, but here they are, conscious, endowed with mind (*manas*), the organ of apprehension, the channel of sense perceptions, and the agent of decisions. Here they are in a world of misery (threefold: sorrows brought on them by themselves, those brought on them by

others, and those inflicted by fate). They cannot remove misery by faith or religious practices, but by knowledge. This knowledge (*jnana*) is gained from perception, inference, and the affirmation of tradition.

The Samkhya goal, won by the inactive contemplation of nature and by the knowledge that nature and soul are eternally different, is isolation (*kaivalya*), not absorption, not identity. Freedom from misery, not any positive pleasure, nor any loss of individuality, is the ideal. One must realize his isolation from nature's three constituencies (*gunas*) of goodness, energy, and darkness. He is at last a passive spectator to the operations of nature. Nature must continue to exist, in order that the soul may have opportunity to realize that he is free, inactive, isolated spirit. This is *atheistic dualism*. In the Samkhya, the knowledge which leads to *kaivalya* (beyond pain and transmigration) is offered to Shudras as well as to the twice-born. Its theistic form, Yoga, recognizes all classes, even panchamas, or outcastes, whereas Vedanta confines its benefits to the twice-born. In the Yoga system it is not so much the gaining of knowledge as the practice of *yoga* in devotion to the Lord (Ishwara) that wins *kaivalya*. There is a proverb, "No knowledge equal to the Samkhya, no power equal to the Yoga."

VEDANTA. The fundamental theory of Vedanta is that God (who may be called the Brahman or Absolute as well as Atman or soul, since they are identical), all-knowing and all-powerful, has created the universe by his will and is the cause of all existence and dissolution. He is One, without another, and the end of all created things is resolution into Himself.

The Vedantic theory is old. It professes to have been originally Vedic; it contains ideas not unlike elements in such Vedic hymns as those of Creation,¹⁶ to the Golden Germ (*RV*, X, 121), or to Skambha, "the earth's upholder."¹⁷ As a system it represents a definite gathering up of the chief philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads. It attempts to be inclusive of all orthodox systems. This definite gather-

ing up may have begun in refutation of Buddhism, Jainism, and other contemporary systems of "materialism," but it remained for Shankara, a Shivite reformer and the most important figure among Vedantists, to expound the full reaches of this philosophy. We may call it pantheism, or monistic idealism (technically, *advaita*, or "non-duality"); "All is God," or "only the One is real, the many are illusion."

SHANKARA. Shankara was born about 800 A.D. in the south of India, on the Malabar coast near Cochin. He came of the Nambudri caste of Brahmans. His father died in his childhood, and he was reared by his mother. He had a fair training in the *Shastras*, or sacred writings. He was inclined to study and religious meditation, disinclined to marry, and desirous of entering upon an ascetic career. He persuaded his mother to release him from the marriage she had arranged, and to let him become a *sannyasi*. Forthwith, Shankara set out upon a pilgrimage to the north, to study with a famous *guru*, Govinda, at his hermitage on the Narbada River. Govinda had been the pupil of the greater *guru* Guadapada, an influential teacher of *advaita* Vedantism. After several years of study with Govinda, who made him a full-fledged *sannyasi*, he went to Banaras, where he taught and wrote for many years. He wrote commentaries on the *Vedanta-sutras*, the *Gita*, and the chief *Upanishads*, in formulating his system of Vedanta. In time he went on tour to teach, engaging extensively in controversy with many opponents. He founded a temple to the Goddess of Learning at the mouth of the Tungabhadra River, east of Goa, and established a hostel (*matha*, a "monastery") with his chief disciple Mandana in charge. He visited his aged mother at the end of her life, and broke the rules of *sannyasa* to perform for her the last rites. He toured North India from Ujjain on the west to Assam on the east and passed away somewhere around fifty years of age at Kedarnath in Garhwal, in the Himalayas, a renowned seat of Shiva's worship. He was a brilliant scholar, and his writings in Sanskrit are characterized by great intellectual capacity and an unusu-

ally fine style. The tradition of his teaching is nation-wide. As a life-long celibate he idealizes in his own person the true philosophical *sannyasi*.

In his teachings, especially upon religion, he was altogether an orthodox Hindu. He accepted all the main features of orthodoxy: the inspiration of the *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas*, etc.; the presence of all the traditional gods, of God. His higher teachings may be indicated in brief outline:¹⁸ There truly exists only Brahman, who (which) is One, without a second, spiritual, and unknowable; that is, unknowable through the direct perception of the senses, or through any knower but itself; it (he) is "that which is in itself, and conceived through itself." The material world (of perception) is *maya*, "illusion." The human soul (*atman*) and Brahman are in reality one. Since, however, the identity of the soul and Brahman is contrary to immediate experience, and since man lives in the world of experience, a distinction is made between ultimate truth and the truth of experience. Shankara distinguishes between Brahman as he truly is (para-Brahman, "supreme Brahman"), and Brahman enwrapped in attributes and limitations. This latter Brahman is the same, but "lower" (cf. Chu Hsi's distinction between *li* and *ch'i* in "dignity"), is the *param-atman*, "world Soul," and may be termed Ishwara,¹⁹ God.

Shankara distinguishes between higher and lower knowledge. To the "higher knowledge" (*jnana*, *vijnana*), beyond sense experience, Brahman is the one, unknowable Reality; all else is *maya*, illusory, unreal, an inference from "lower knowledge" (*avidya*). To *avidya*, within the realm of sense experience, is a world which, though phenomenal, is knowable. That is, in contradictory(?) phrase, one *knows* the immediate world through "ignorance" (*avidya*).²⁰ One cannot know what is altogether unreal; the phenomenal world is not absolutely unreal; its reality is, however, only relative, impermanent. It is the realm of time and space, of *personal* experience; it is a confused world of confusion, which cannot be resolved into a *whole*. Shankara left a

place in his philosophy for ethics and religion. He posited the Real and the Phenomenal, and urged that man attain a union with the Real, that is, the *real* self of man know at last Reality. Actual man would realize his possibility, would discipline his impulses through reason. Shankara puts on man a measure of responsibility, after all—responsibility for his own deeds (*karma* is not wholly impersonal?). Man may observe his acts and by intelligence distinguish the supreme good from the worldly good and from evil—but what is evil? Is there *positive* evil? Shankara's system would seem to leave no place for positives (positives are real—only Brahman is real!). At any rate, Shankara teaches that there is an End to which *jnana* will lead by breaking at last for the self the bonds of *karma* and rebirth in the lower, phenomenal world (*samsara*); that there is a Dharma with its prescriptions and prohibitions, by observance of which a man qualifies himself for saving knowledge.

Shankara's goal ²¹ is the cessation of the *idea* of separateness, distinction, duality, and the consummation of the *idea* of the unity of all. *Mukti*, *moksha*, "release," comes for the man who rises above the world of the transient into the truth of Brahman (*para*-Brahman). It seems that true knowledge may be obtained in this realm of *samsara*. Then at death, Brahman insures the man of *jnana*, final release from *maya*, *karma*, etc., into the stillness, peace, and completion of the Absolute.

RAMANUJA. Some eminent Indians have criticized Shankara's teachings as defective. Their criticism has been directed both at theory and practical application. Ramanuja, a Brahman of the twelfth century A.D., proposed a "qualified nonduality." He wrote extensive commentaries on the same books which Shankara had interpreted. He rejected the distinction between the higher and the lower Brahman, and that between the higher and the lower knowledge. He rejected the absolute identity of the individual and Brahman; and he qualified the doctrine of *maya*, as he thought Shankara had used it. He had little use for *maya*, since he granted the world (*samsara*) something of a *real* existence of its

own; he used *maya* to mean the will of the Lord (Ishwara) by which he chooses to be born among men. Ramanuja is decidedly a theist; Vishnu, and not Shiva or Brahman, is his God. Vishnu is Brahman! Ramanuja rests his faith in Vishnu as a personal God with attributes; Vishnu is Ishwara, the Supreme Lord. Vishnu pervades all, both souls and matter. All things are emanations from him. He expresses his interest in creation and his concern for mankind by manifestations of himself from time to time (a doctrine of salvation through incarnations). The life of man is determined by the principle of *karma*, and the soul is subject to transmigration. But good works and sound knowledge—and faith, also, to some degree—will nullify *karma* and bring cessation of rebirth. Man's ultimate end is not identity with nor the realization of identity with an impersonal Brahman, but continued existence in the loving presence of Vishnu in Vishnu's heaven, Vaikuntha. Release is possible not only to the "twice-born," but to Shudras and outcastes as well. They can all avail themselves, each in his own station and in his own way, of the fruits of devotion to Vishnu. Ramanuja sought, through his great *Commentary* and by pilgrimages of instruction throughout India, to link Vishnuism and the Vedanta. He himself punctiliously observed caste rules regarding food and intercourse with other castes, but sought to provide a cosmopolitan gospel by a union of all the major elements in Hindu religious tradition. Tulsi Das got his gospel through the line of Ramanuja, and did for the common people what Ramanuja had attempted for the more thoughtful of all classes.

THE BASIC COMMON ELEMENTS. We now have before us two of the six schools of Hindu thought, all of which emphasize knowledge (*jnana*) above works (*karma*) and devotion (*bhakti*) as the means of salvation. While Samkhya and Vedanta have many common qualities, it is not difficult to discern major differences. Samkhya is dualistic and would have man attain to a final distinction between the two eternal and real entities, of nature and spirit, to the exclusion of God apart from either (unless in the Yoga form of

Samkhya, which personalizes spirit into God). Vedanta would have man realize his essential unity with God, and the unreality of all else but God and the soul of man, which are essentially and eternally one (unless in the "modified" Vedanta which is somewhat like Yoga, with an emphatic doctrine of *bhakti* "faith, devotion," etc., added). All six of the schools have many things in common, which, if we cite them, will tell us in conclusion what Hinduism is, in general:

1. The common emphasis on knowledge, which is particularly true of the schools as such; they commonly refer, also, with varying emphasis to the values inhering in works and devotion.
2. The theory of *karma*, the inexorable law of the deed, which is possibly the most striking characteristic of Hinduism.
3. Transmigration, or rebirth of the soul, with the world as the sphere of the soul's repeated "entanglement" (*samsara*).
4. The eternity of the soul, although with difference of opinion as to the eternal supreme soul (*paramatman*) and the eternal individual soul (*jivatman*).
5. A theory of the eternity of matter, but with the differentiation as to just what matter is (to the Samkhyist, for example, matter is something gross and real, and to the Vedantist it is something subtle or illusory which overlays the soul until the soul's release).
6. The soul as caught in a bondage of misery from which escape is sought.
7. Mind (*manas*), the only expression of consciousness; that is, that *thought* is the only real expression of the soul's active and willing consciousness.
8. The Ultimate is beyond the Present, however the Ultimate may be conceived. Bliss is not of this changing order of the world.

CONCLUSION. Hinduism seems to have arrived at some valuable conclusions on life. Was there not a time when the earth was destitute of life? When it was a hot, cooling ball? Did it not then seem incapable of producing anything conscious? Consciousness, nevertheless, appeared! Was

there not, therefore, consciousness before its appearance, in a form possibly not recognizable as such? Dare we say that, when "all is over," there is final *unconsciousness*? If you say that consciousness was a new thing at the beginning, is it not possible that, after death, still newer forms of consciousness may arise? Who can draw the line at which consciousness began? Or the line beyond which it ceases? Is there consciousness in the vegetable? If there is, then why not in the mineral also? Samuel Butler once observed that "the hen makes the shell in her inside, but it is pure pottery." Hinduism has consistently held to consciousness as the irreducible quality of existence. It has exalted mind.

Some claim that Hinduism has employed the mind not to use, renovate, and glorify the world, but to reduce it to neglect. But is this altogether so? Hinduism has an interesting solution of the relation of man in his life-span to the world and to religion. No other faith has formulated so definite a program. We refer to the four *ashramas*, "stages" of life. By the scheme of stages, the Hindu may be (1) the pupil, learning the ways of the fathers, according to the station into which he is born; (2) the householder, married and rearing a family, and engaging in the work of his station; (3) the anchorite, dwelling apart to learn completely the life of self-denial; and (4) the *sannyasi*. To be sure, this is Hinduism's ideal program for a few, namely, the privileged Brahmins, yet the lower classes may observe the routine and end as *sadhus*, those who are "on the way," or have reached the goal. For those who seek this goal, the soul is more than the processes of sun or moon, more than the fire on hearth or altar. "When the sun is set, and the moon is set, and the fire is gone out, the soul is the light of man," said an ancient Indian sage, Yajnavalkya.

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Chapter 10

JAINISM

Approximately a million and a half Jains are found in India, representing an ancient and honorable religion. It was first a heresy, but its very title, Jainism, connotes "victory," or the "faith victorious." Jains seem to have their own peculiar confidence in their peculiar way of life. Jainism, they say, is a religion of deliverance already demonstrated by many "victors" (*jinas*) and available today to all who follow their example. The Jains have offered their religion not only to their own countrymen but even to us of the West. When, however, Westerners comprehend its discipline, they find it difficult even to imagine its effectiveness. It is almost inconceivable that this faith should find a footing in the West or prove of value. What then is this Jainist "victory"?

Having endured through twenty-five long centuries, Jainism must have value of a sort. We have said it was at first a heresy; it was one of two. Buddhism was the other. Both arose at the same time and within the same territories. While Jainism cannot convincingly be compared with Buddhism in its central concepts, in variety of development, or in the extent of its history, it has managed to survive in its Indian environment, while, in the same environment, its rival met its doom. Yet one might say with justice that this survival is as much a sign of weakness as of strength, an evidence that Jainism has endured by accommodation. The small community of Jains, however, exerts an influence out of proportion to its numbers. In districts and towns where the Jains are found to any extent, they take a leading place as bankers, lawyers, merchants, and proprietors of land. They are not tillers of the soil, for a cardinal doctrine of their

faith has kept them out of agriculture. On the other hand, all trades and occupations are open to them, save brewing, fishing, butchering, or any livelihood which involves injury (*himsa*) to a living being. Of course the Jains abstain from eating meat.

The Jains are enterprising and well-to-do, even wealthy. They pride themselves on the absence of religious mendicants and common beggars. They provide schools and orphanages for their children, homes (*ashramas*, or "retreats") for their widows, hospitals (*pinjrapols*) for their defective animals, and resthouses (*dharmshalas*) for their pilgrims. For the conservation of communal interests they hold periodic conferences and maintain associations in their larger centers.

TEMPLED HILLS. To see the Jainist faith in action, let us go on tour to Parasnath, Satrunjaya, Girnar, and Abu, four centers of Jainist pilgrimage. They are memorial sites, and shrines to *jinas*, and are seats of common Jainist worship. Throughout the Jain community, there are forty thousand temples, many of which are among the choicest of India's gems of architecture. Often these temples lie in groups. The Jains, more than any other faith, have grouped their shrines in veritable "cities," especially on prominent mountains. Parasnath, Satrunjaya, Girnar, and Abu are lofty cities of clustered temples on conspicuous mountaintops.

Mt. Parasnath (more accurately Parshva-nath) is a famous seat of worship. It rises, two hundred miles northwest of Calcutta, above the Grand Trunk Road and supports an interesting group of "them Injian temples to admire when you see"—as Kipling's British Tommy said while "route-marchin'" on the Grand Trunk Road. It is the reputed place of burial of the twenty-third *jina*,¹ Parshva, who died in 776 B.C. Parshva was the immediate predecessor of Mahavira, the founder of the religion known to historic times. At the foot of his mountain lies the village of Madhuban, where one discovers at once evidence of a thoroughgoing sectarianism which has tended to disrupt the modern Jain community. You find in Madhuban the local

headquarters of the rigidly ascetic Digambara, "nudist, or sky-clad," sect, as well as the local center of the Shvetambara "white-clad" sect.² These divisions came many centuries ago in this very neighborhood. Some of the images in the temples are clad and some are nude, and it may be that Parshva's image, also, is sometimes nude and sometimes clad. But this divergence in practice is not a source of bitterness.

The ascent of the five-thousand-foot elevation follows a winding way some twenty miles in length through thick woods with large clumps of feathery bamboos. The ridge is sparsely covered with gnarled trees, amid which at points of vantage are small temples commemorating the attainment of *kaivalya* (the Jainist goal) by various "saints." The chief temple (venerable, but not ancient) to Lord Parshva stands below the saddle of the ridge, in a hollow facing south, surrounded by a grove of plantains and fig trees. It looks out over the sunny plains bordering the Damodar (Damodha) River as it flows sluggishly eastward to the Hugli and the Bengal Bay. The temples on the summit look Hindu from without, but unlike Hindu shrines, each contains *usually* only the "footprints" of a *jina*, who is known also as a *tirthankara*, or "ford-finder," and an image, also, of him only. The chief temple contains the footprints of the "lord" (*nath*) Parshva, with an image of him, and, strangely, some marble figures of the *Buddha*, wearing about his neck the cord of the "twice-born" Hindu. In the lesser temples are idols of various Jainist saints.

The temples have their ministrants and their ritual of worship. At the shrines of the "white-clad" sect, the priests are robed in a special garb. They wash the images of the saints and dry them and mark them with auspicious marks. They tender offerings of flowers, fruit, and rice. They make confession of sin and vows of consecration. Perhaps they mark on the temple floor in rice grains the dot-and-crescent sign of "release" (*moksha*), the three dots for the "three jewels" (*tiratna*) of doctrine, and the *swastika* for the soul in process of rebirth. They may also offer worship on be-

half of the pilgrims. The pilgrims, men and women, may worship in ordinary dress in the temple's outer court, waving sticks of burning incense, or a lighted lamp, saying their prayers and making offerings of sweetmeats or fruit. At the shrines of the "sky-clad" sect, the officiants are nude, but their worship accords with the common ritual. Women, however, do not appear in the temples of the "sky-clad."

PARSHVA. According to the current legend, Parshva was of the eighth century B.C. After nine pre-existences, he was born at last to queen Vamadevi, wife of king Ashvasena, of Kashi (Banaras). One night during her pregnancy the queen saw a serpent by her side, and in deference to this portent she named her child *parshvatah*, whence Parshva, "by the side." Prince Parshva married in due time the "perfect" daughter, Prabhavati, of king Prasenajit. The crisis in his life came when he was converted by a picture of Nemi, the twenty-second *jina*, or *tirthankara*, of the Jains. He decided that he would become a world-enlightener. He gave his goods in alms, took refuge in a hermitage, and at the foot of an *ashoka* tree renounced power and wealth, plucked out his hair, and acquired the knowledge which perfection brings. He was then thirty years of age. Thereafter as a "saint" he took to wandering. He often fought the *asuras*, or "demons," victoriously. Once to protect him from the burning sunshine, the serpent-king did him honor, holding an umbrella above his head (did a cobra spread its hood above him?).³ In time, at Kashi, Parshva attained *kaivalya*. After a further term of wandering, he retired to Mt. Sammeta (modern Parasnath), where he practiced a month's asceticism and destroyed the last vestiges of *karma*. At "death" his soul went heavenward and was adorned with divine jewels. Even his wasted body went to heaven, where it was duly burned. And over the bones was raised a mound, a *stupa*, in his memory. The gods set up (in heaven?) an image of him underneath a *chaitya*,⁴ to which the power was given of granting one's desires who prayed to him and of warding off evil influences from his devotees. Such are the virtues of Parshva at his seat on Mt. Parasnath,

although according to the strictest Jainist theory he is not a god but only an *example* of the life victorious.

SATRUNJAYA. The holy mount Satrunjaya rises near the town of Palitana in western India, in the peninsula of Kathiawar. Its twin ridges, each a thousand feet in length, are closely covered with imposing temples in the characteristic Hindu design of northern India, with white walls, weathered domes, and gilded pinnacles. A massive battlemented wall, well fitted for defense in former days, entirely surrounds both ridges and the valley between. Within this wall are nineteen lesser walled compartments, each with its own gate and its group of temples about the major shrine. There are five hundred temples on these twin summits, including the nineteen major structures. All are built of elaborately carved stone. Within are the symbols and imagery of the faith, the footprints and the figures of the saints. In several of the larger courtyards are small ritual reservoirs.

Glassy-eyed images of the many *jinas* peer out from their cloistered cells while priests and pilgrims go leisurely and devotedly in and out. Many of these *jinas* attained *kaivalya* on this "hill of the perfected," but the peculiar sanctity of Mt. Satrunjaya was imparted by the first *tirthankara* Rishabha, or Adinath, the "original lord," who is especially revered by the "white-clad" sect. His ample image sits in the chief temple, lavishly bedecked with jewels, including ear pendants and a crown. It gazes, wide-eyed, solemnly, and almost fiercely, into the heart of every worshiper, reminding all who revere the *jina* of the long-deferred yet hoped-for victory. It is a quiet place, this holy city. There is little demonstration as the pilgrims go about the well-kept terraced streets, the neat passageways and airy porches. There are no rude noises such as strike the ear at many Hindu shrines. Occasionally a bell is gently rung or a drum softly beaten. On holidays there is chanting in the larger temples. Green parrots abound, and squirrels scamper freely about the precincts. Doves whirl from temple to temple. On the wooded slopes "there's the peacock round the

corner, and the monkey up the tree." The setting is worshipful.

THE NINETY-NINE. The greatest of the rites is called the Ninety-nine. It takes three months to perform it. A devotee, when he undertakes this rite, is bent upon it for himself alone. There is no special season for it; it is done at any time the pilgrim may desire. He begins it at the bottom of the mountain. He ascends by leisurely stages the thousands of well-worn steps that wind about the hillsides, often stopping for prolonged rest at appointed places by the way. At the summit he makes the worshipful circuit of the central shrine of Lord Rishabha, and then leisurely descends again. Ninety-eight times this journey is made, up and down, after which he prepares himself for the final details of the rite. He fasts strictly while he makes the last ascent. At Rishabha's shrine he performs the varieties of worship, according to the local ritual, a total of eleven times with each interval filled with chanting by singers, accompanied by harmoniums, who are secured for a proper fee. On the completion of the worship, the custodians of the temple place the image of Rishabha in the courtyard of the temple, on a silver throne beneath a silken canopy. In the open court, the pilgrim pays the Lord Rishabha his final tribute of reverence, perhaps in silent meditation. He then sets out for home.

GIRNAR. Seventy-five miles west of Mt. Satrunjaya rises Mt. Girnar above the town of Junagarh. The summit stands out above surrounding peaks. Its temples are among the most ancient in India, for many Jains in the early centuries fled westward from persecution into the comparative peace of remote Kathiawar. Sixteen temples are built upon a cliff beside the central summit. The largest and the most imposing belongs to Neminath, the twenty-second *tirthankara-jina*. It thrusts up a central pinnacle amidst a cone-like cluster of lesser pinnacles. It stands in a spacious quadrangular court bounded on every side by a high stone wall. On the inner side of the wall are seventy cloistered cells, each with a marble image shielded by a perforated

marble screen. In the central shrine Lord Nemi is represented by a large black stone image adorned with jewels and massive ornaments of gold. Round his figure are ranged many white marble images. In the outer hall toward which he faces are slabs of yellow stone with representations of the 1226 pairs of feet of the first disciples. From the courtyard a passage leads to a low, dark temple, through which one may descend into a curious cave, where a marble image rests, an object of peculiarly superstitious veneration. It is said that the hollow in one of its shoulders is worn by "nectar" dropping from its ear. The precincts of Neminath are clean (a Jainist virtue) and simply and austere impressive in the stillness of the lofty setting. It is impressive, too, to watch the sober pilgrims wind through the sacred halls, each conscious of his own great responsibility in patterning his life after the example of the "heroes" who have found the way before him.

A HILL OF WISDOM. Mt. Abu, the "hill of wisdom" (*ar-buddha*), is the best known and the most frequented holy place. It is a high, extensive plateau, broken off from the ancient Aravalli Hills, less than two hundred miles north of the Gulf of Cambay. Within a broad grove of mango trees lies the "place of temples" (*devalwara*, called "Dilwara"). There are five temples, two of which should have our best attention, being, in many respects, unrivaled in all India. One is a temple of the eleventh century, A.D., dedicated to Rishabha. The other is of the thirteenth century and dedicated to Neminath. They are built of white marble and carved with all the delicacy and variety of ornamentation which the rich resources of Indian art could devise. The interiors are executed with a finish which defies description. The more recent of the temples—it is a shrine of the "white-clad"—is slightly more elaborate. The central shrine, terminating in a squat, corrugated, pyramidal roof, is surrounded by porches and pillars, with the whole inclosed in an oblong courtyard. Groups of monasteries and resthouses are nearby. The central room of the temple, lighted only from the doorway, contains the image of lord Nemi seated

cross-legged upon his throne. In the outer court are fifty-two ornate cells, each with its image of a saint. The elephant room contains ten marble elephants, which, with their trappings, were carved with exquisite care. Mothers who were to bear *tirthankaras* saw elephants in their dreams and thereby learned their secret. The ceilings and pillars, especially within the central shrine, are profusely ornamented with delicately traced human, plant, and animal figures. The rafters and struts are covered with geometric designs, while images are chiseled in the capitals. The domed ceiling of the central room displays the choicest carving, with its concentric circles of lotus flowers, twenty-four in a circle. Eight of these flower-circles, from larger to smaller, and each in its own interval, hang as a cone, pointing downward. The images of eighteen guardian spirits (*yakshas*) look down from the walls on Neminath. The room took fourteen years to build and, it is said, cost eighteen crores of rupees. It is the costliest setting for Jain worship, but it exhibits only the forms familiar already.

FORD-FINDING. What is Jainism on its theoretical side? What ideas are embodied in the stones and images on the holy mountains? What faith is shown by the various ritual acts? Of what stuff is the Jain mind made. The Jains are counted heretics by the Hindus, but we suspect that the heresy is today less pronounced. In any event, we see in Jainism the last direct representative of the great movement of philosophic speculation and religious quest, which flourished in the valley of the Ganges during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Jainism then, with Buddhism and lesser parties, voiced its protest against the thought of Brahmanism, but for several centuries the Jainist planet was dimmed by the splendor of the Buddhist sun. Not until after the Buddhist "light of Asia" passed beyond the land of its rising did Jainism assume the leading role in heresy.

Jainism as a religion is more easily understood if traced historically. We have already encountered several of the twenty-four *jinās*, or *tirthankaras*, of the faith. They are honored as those who found passage through the "dark

waters" of this life, who subjected themselves to the discipline necessary to achieve the true and final goal of existence. Jainism does not hold that they help men directly, save as they are examples and reminders of what can and should be done by all the faithful. Vardhaman Mahavira, the "great hero" Vardhaman, is considered the last and greatest of the line of twenty-four. We shall use the title and not the name when referring to him, this being the universal practice with reference to the great religious leaders. He is a somewhat shadowy figure of the sixth century B.C., one of those vague personages that stalk across the stage of history without once turning their faces full upon you. Indeed, we must rest content with some conjecture in connection with all the early history of Jainism, and it cannot honestly be said that important new facts have been discovered during recent decades. There is a fairly substantial tradition which we may follow without undue risk of error, thereby avoiding tedious controversy. We may assume that Parshva, as well as Mahavira, was historical, and that Parasnath mountain is Parshva's chief memorial. Thus Jain origins are somewhere about 800 B.C., although the Jains, by means of their prophets, seek to establish the fact that their religion is as old as the human race. What had been gathering momentum before Mahavira was given by him something of definite form. He is, therefore, the founder of the faith.

MAHAVIRA. Mahavira was born about 599 B.C. in a village at the edge of the city of Vesali, the capital of Videha (in modern Bihar). His native state was the most powerful single principality among the nations in the valley of the Ganges. His father, Siddharta, was a wealthy nobleman of Videha and chief of a warrior clan. His mother, Trishala, was related to the ruling house of Videha and was a sister of the governor of Vesali. His father was, perhaps, a lay disciple of the *jina* Parshva, and of his mother the legend is told that during her pregnancy she had dreams portentous of the coming of a hero. The child, however, did not take at once to religion; he seems to have had first the training

of a warrior's son. In due time he was married to a certain lady Yashoda, of noble lineage, by whom he had one child, a daughter. We recall that the time of these events was one of unusual fertility for the discussion of religion and for the rise of religious orders. A widespread reaction against Brahmanism had been gaining force during several generations. Many religious teachers had preached in conscientious and determined revolt against the sanctity of the Vedas, the power of the Vedic deities, the sacrificial prescriptions of the Brahmanical ritual, and the assumption of spiritual superiority by the Brahman priests. The center of Brahmanism at the time was west of Videha in the region of which Delhi is now the chief city. Sanskrit was in process of forming as the classical language of Hinduism. The immediate neighborhood of Mahavira, along the Ganges, was only slightly Brahmanized. The two great Jainist and Buddhist heresies, therefore, sprang up off-center; they were in a measure revolts against Brahmanism, but in another sense they were spontaneous local quests for truth. Both movements adopted in their ascetic mode of life the rules which had been already fixed by Brahmins.

Mahavira, in time, took to religion as a life career, the definite step being taken when he was thirty years of age. There is some ground for believing that he earlier considered the step but delayed it in deference to his mother's wishes. He may even have been averse to marriage, if the ascetic instinct was thus early strong in him, but consented to marriage by his parents' arrangement. In any event, at thirty, after the death of both parents, he left his home and set out as a wandering ascetic. He may have considered himself a member of Parshva's order, in which his father had held membership, as we are told. Tradition says that he, like Parshva, was borne from home in a palanquin to the shade of an *ashoka tree*, where he discarded his ornaments and fine raiment, donned a simple robe, plucked out his hair, and abstained from food and drink for two and one-half days. Thus prepared, he undertook for thirteen months a regimen of strictest self-denial, discarding all

clothing and counting nudity essential to true asceticism. For twelve years he went about, usually without shelter, enduring affront and injurious treatment at the hands of some of the inhabitants everywhere he went. "By uninterrupted meditation, unbroken chastity, and the most scrupulous observance of the rules concerning eating and drinking, he fully subdued his senses; nor did he in the slightest degree hurt or cause offense to any living being." When he was forty-two, he found the earthly end of his mental quest. He was in a field near an old Hindu shrine, not far from a *sal* tree, squatting in deep meditation with knees high and his head low between them, bathed in the brilliance of a burning sun. Here he achieved the state known by various names, for example, "cessation" (*nirvana*), or "isolation" (*kaivalya*), and became a *tirthankara* or "ford-finder," *jina* or "conqueror," and *arhat* or "blessed one." Thenceforth he was a recognized religious teacher. He seems to have identified himself shortly with an order then existent and known as the *Nirgranthas*, men who were "fetter-free." With him as their head, by a gradual transformation *they* became the order of the *Jinas*, or Jainists. This identification of *Nirgranthas* and Jains is open to question, but no essential of our present story depends upon this identity.

Possibly psychology, for want of exact historical data, can tell what happened to Mahavira in the sun-stricken field. What we know of the experience of many modern ascetics may be relied on for an explanation. He had long been under rigorous discipline of body, had meditated deeply upon aspects of the world and human life, and had discussed in current terminology the major theories of the day. He came, therefore, to realize something of a state which to him, at least, was new. Having failed to realize through others the true knowledge that he sought, he took as immediate revelation the climactic experience, and its knowledge-values, which visited him in the open field. Newness in religion is a relative term; what has lain long in the subconscious may bubble forth as *revelation*. Maha-

vira rejected much of the world he knew, and in the place of the discarded ideas and practices he put as his unique contribution the substance of his new experience. His clay became a pot by losing some qualities and by gaining others. No god spoke to him there in the open. Mahavira had to a peculiar degree the sense that what he got was somehow his own achievement. He himself had become as God, knowing good and evil. He was spared for thirty years to spread his teachings. His ranks were swelled not only by the former Parshva's followers but especially from the highest grades of Hindu society. Instead of reproach and harsh treatment, he was given honor by hosts of pious householders, and he won the patronage of kings. What more was needed to confirm the freshness of his message! He elaborated during his wandering ministry the simple items of his original knowledge, but he never forgot the method whereby he gained his goal, the way of nudity and mortification. Perhaps he was too austere.

JAINIST THEORY. We cannot always say what is of Mahavira himself and what is due to subsequent development. In what field of faith can we ever be sure of the separate strands? What follows is, in the main, what may be with good reason attributed to Mahavira. His fundamental tenet is that all nature, even that which seems the most inanimate, possesses life and the capacity of re-animation. This theory is merely primitive man's consistent reaction to the world about him; the whole world is alive, and every object in it is alive. He went beyond this, however, as the records clearly indicate, and thoughtful Jainists have, until the present day, consistently and inflexibly held to his fundamental view as the most distinctive aspect of the faith. Its corollary is *ahimsa*, or "noninjury."

Mahavira's theory of "animation" is not altogether primitive, nor is it Hindu (in the sectarian sense) nor even Buddhist. It is altogether different from Buddha's view of life and more extreme than any Hindu view. It is based upon the dualistic proposition that there are in the universe only eternal souls (*jivas*) and eternal elements (*ajivas*).

He held no notion of the world as illusion (*maya*), as in the later Vedanta philosophy. He was "realistic," somewhat in the manner of the later Samkhya-Yoga. To Mahavira the soul (*jiva*) is real; it acts and is affected by acts. There are innumerable *jivas*; each is conscious and each is intelligent. The *jiva* is the knowing self; it perceives and it conceives. One may directly perceive his own *jiva* by introspection and come thus to true knowledge, which is in part the distinction between *jiva* and *ajiva*, the self and the not-self. The *ajiva*, or "nonsoul," is something atomic. It is a thing, unconscious and without knowledge. *Ajivas* are innumerable; they are real and eternal and are not the product of thought. They are without size and are immeasurable; yet they have "body" and the qualities of touch, taste, smell, and color. They exist in various relationships and in combination make up what we call matter (*pudgala*). *Pudgala* is what is perceived by the senses; and every "object" is a collection of *ajivas*, in addition to at least one *jiva* somehow enmeshed within.

Man as a living object is composed of *jiva* and *ajiva*, spirit and matter, correlated in a sort of parallelism. Both, remember, are eternal, uncreate, and unending. The *jiva* is fettered by what its own activity (*karma*) has gathered about it. It has enveloped itself in numerous sheaths spun from *false* knowledge and *evil* deeds; it has defiled itself by unwholesome contacts. It must extricate itself and purify itself by true knowledge and strict isolation. Or, thinking in terms of any sort of *jiva*, human or otherwise, life must ascend in the scale of existence from lower to higher, gaining by gradual evolution freedom from gross matter, the senses, and the disastrous fruits of *karma* and previous rebirths, breaking ultimately the sullyng contacts and meshes of *ajivas*. It is to rise *above* qualities, relationships, motion, time, and space and to emerge finally disembodied and actionless. This is *Nirvana*, or *Kaivalya*. The *jiva* must free itself. In terms of man he is his own savior. Said Mahavira, "Man! Thou art thine own friend! Why wishest thou a friend beyond thyself?" This means, more immedi-

ately, man's rise caste by caste. For any high-caste man there are exactly fourteen stages in the process of his evolution.

NONINJURY. It is obvious that in such a view, *ahimsa*, "noninjury," to any *jiva* is a cardinal virtue; *himsa*, "injury," a major evil. If the Jain be reminded that *jivas* are indestructible, he replies that if one injures another he causes pain to both and inhibits the process of release. If one kills another he deprives the one slain of an opportunity to work out his destiny. If the Jain be reminded that cases of suicide are approved by the order, he will reply that only certain forms of suicide are approved. If an ascetic starve himself to death in accordance with a holy vow to abstain from food, it is a worthy suicide, and the deceased has furthered his own good cause. At certain stages in his progress toward *Nirvana* a man may deliberately limit by his suicide the remaining activity of *karma* and the opportunities for sin. But the doctrine of *ahimsa* seldom allows such exceptions. Rather, it has been carried to unusual extremes in the preservation or prolongation of life. The Jainist *pinjrapol* is a place of suffering for the animals there, a means, as it were, for the brute creation to gain the merit of the way of pain. In its high regard for life, Jainism has strangely erred, even to the extreme of indifference to suffering in both the human and the animal world. Such is one of the long issues of Mahavira's theory of animation.

YES-AND-NO. There are intellectual intricacies (Mahaviran eccentricities?) in Jainism which need not long detain us here. We cite merely one, the baffling theory of "yes-and-no," or "maybe" (*syad-vada*),⁵ which makes for extreme uncertainty in the realm of knowledge. This theory is all the more amazing in the light of the emphasis Mahavira placed on knowing. By it, one says "yes-no" to almost every proposition, for a thing may be viewed in many aspects, with no absolute judgment possible from any one. All affirmations are true only in a limited sense, and everything possesses an infinite number of qualities, each of which can be affirmed only in a particular sense. What should you

expect a Jain philosopher to do with our modern true-and-false questionnaires? His doctrine, in any case, gives him an uncertain philosophy. He deals with many kinds of knowledge, but the test of the validity of true knowledge is that it helps man get what he wants (knowledge is not good for its own sake). It reveals the *jiva* as the knowing self, and identifies the objects (*ajivas*, perhaps) that are known. It knows that permanence is involved in change and that there is an Ultimate. Perfect knowledge (*kevala*) comprehends totality, not parts and relationships, and is possible only to free and purified souls. It supersedes all lesser knowledge which is unable to get beyond relations, and which must say "maybe" to most propositions. The example of true knowledge is Mahavira in the open field where he attained *Kaivalya*. He spun his own philosophy out of the belly of his own experience.

ASCETICISM. Along with the intellectual uncertainty which the Jainist heritage has fostered in its way, there is the practical certainty expressed in the ideal of asceticism. If the problems of the earth, man, and the universe will not respond to "maybe," they may be solved by discipline. There are "three jewels" of the order—right faith, right knowledge, and right living (conduct); all three abide, but the greatest "jewel" is right living; the other two are incidental accompaniments. One may have faith in the teachings of the *jinas*, but a knowledge of reality as it is, and the final entrance into reality comes by way of conduct, doings (*charitra*). The Jain would cease to do evil and learn to do well, to avoid pain, and to find happiness. The way thereof is the discipline of vows, doings in accordance with his vows, after the example of the *jinas*. He does not pay his vows to "the Most High," as did the Israelite, for there is no God to the Jain beyond the deified Mahavira. He swears solemnly to himself, save that the layman takes his vows before a *guru*. There are three sets of solemn pledges, the "twelve," the "eleven," and the "five." The layman ordinarily takes the "twelve," and the ascetic the "five." The "eleven" provide the layman, if he wishes, a preliminary

preparation for the "five" of strict asceticism. First, there is renunciation. The candidate renounces such faults as doubt, any desire to join another faith, any questioning of *karma*, and any inclination to praise or associate with "hypocrites." The "twelve" vows taken thereafter are: (1) never intentionally to take life (i.e., to destroy a *jiva*); (2) never to lie or to exaggerate; (3) never to steal or to take what is not given; (4) never to be unchaste (this includes fidelity to wife, or husband, and purity of thought and word); (5) to curb desire, limiting oneself to a reasonable amount of wealth, giving away all in excess (at least, at the end of one's life); (6) to limit the motives for sin, e.g., by regulating travel; (7) to limit the number of things used; (8) to guard against unnecessary evils; (9) to keep stated periods of sinless meditation; (10) to observe special occasions of limitation; (11) to spend occasional days as a monk; (12) to give alms and to support the ascetic community. Such a special rite as the "Ninety-nine" at Mt. Satrunjaya finds place in this scheme. As death approaches, the layman is urged to take the vow of "nonattachment," to dispose of all his goods, and to refrain from food. There can be no doubt that the "twelve" are a wholesome discipline of life. The proportion of Jains convicted of civil and criminal offenses is the lowest of all in India.

The five great vows of the ascetic (*arhat*) are virtually concentrates of the layman's twelve. They carry moderation forward into the strictest self-denial: (1) noninjury (*ahimsa*), (2) truth in speech, (3) nonstealing, (4) chastity (no thought, word, or act of sex),⁶ and (5) the renunciation of attachment for any person or thing. We realize something of the rigor of the "five" if we consider at how many points the Jainist universe is "alive." With reference to all the vows, it seems not unfair to say that Jainism is too strenuous (certainly for modern times), it is too self-centered (even their self-denials aim at "merit"), it misrepresents sorrow and pain as evil and evidence of sin, and it stops far short of a solution of caste and the goal of human brotherhood.

SECTS. A word about the sects. Circumstance as well as theory took part in their formation. Mahavira had organized an order with its various "heads." After his death one of these "heads" took full charge, the office passing on from head to head for several generations until a time of joint-rule (two heads), about one hundred and seventy-five years after Mahavira. There came a famine at the time. One head (Bhadra-bahu), with many monks and laymen of the community, migrated to South India. After many years most of them returned to rejoin the northern community. But cleavage had set in, and by the first century A.D. the division into two chief branches ("white-clad" Shvetambaras and "sky-clad" Digambaras) was complete. The former had remained at home; the latter had migrated. They differed with regard to dress for monks and had opposing views of sacred scripture. The "sky-clad" have never accepted in full the canon which an early council adopted under "white-clad" influence. This must be considered the most authentic of all Jain canons, although Jains have, as a rule, little use for scripture. The "nudists" (Digambaras) seem to be the true heirs of Mahavira. They have consistently held womanhood in low esteem as "the greatest temptation in the world" and "the cause of all sinful acts." They have never admitted women to the ranks of the *arhats* and nuns nor agreed that they may win *Nirvana*. They even deny that Mahavira was ever married, and they have no compunction against forsaking living parents. Today they are to be found mainly in South India. The more numerous sect of Shvetambaras admits women to full membership in the monastic order as candidates for *Nirvana*. Their monks and nuns forsake the world only *after* their parents' deaths. They use images in worship, but clothe them, and have remonstrated against what they took to be idolatry and polytheism, including the deification of Mahavira and other *jinas*. They are the prevailing sect of North India. There is still a separate sect of nonidolaters, the Sthanakvasis, or those who worship "everywhere."

CONCLUSION. Jainism has been subjected not only to internal division but to forces from without. It has been favored by few rulers and persecuted by many. In its original seat in the eastern Ganges valley, Brahmanism gradually attained supremacy, pressing out all heresies. The Jains went westward. Although surrendering its native soil, the faith was compact and conservative enough to withstand its severest persecutions in the twelfth century by the Brahmins and in the thirteenth century by the Muslims, by both of whom many temples were demolished and many faithful slain. In South India the Digambaras were argued into silence by the great Vedantist Shankara. Jains have never recovered temporal power since the Muslims came, but they have remained an effective religious community by reason of their solidarity, their business and commercial enterprise, their wealth and munificence, the comparatively high degree of literacy among them, their tenacious adherence to the theory of "animation," and their code of moral and religious discipline.

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Chapter 11

BUDDHISM

Buddhism has affected large sections of humanity, especially in Asia. Compared with it, Hinduism and Confucianism are provincial; they have served men merely where they arose, with only nominal effects beyond. But Buddhism was a moving current whose force was not only felt in India, its place of origin; it imparted its peculiar character to peoples elsewhere and remolded many of their institutions. It has demonstrated greater qualities of growth than any of the faiths we have so far considered. Buddha was a son of Mother India. While he could not keep his hold upon his fellow countrymen, his teachings were popular and impressive for many centuries in his own land, and his spiritual descendants flourish today in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, and Japan, with Tibetans representing him afar off. Yet he was not concerned with world-extent! He addressed himself to men about him. The faith he founded became worldwide, because men of many countries found it valuable. It is still worthy of the thoughts of men who seek the higher things of life. It has relevant suggestions about personality, knowledge, conduct, destiny, and the God-idea.

There are today about 150,000,000 Buddhists,¹ found in largest numbers in the following countries: Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Korea, Japan, China, certain sections of the Soviet Union, and Tibet. There are over 40,000,000 Buddhists in Japan. There, with their thirteen main sects and about fifty subsects, over 71,000 temples, nearly 8,000 churches, 56,000 temple heads, and 178,000 other priests,² they make up half the population. They are the most active and progressive members of the Buddhist world commu-

nity. In Burma, Buddhists make up the bulk of the population of more than 19,000,000;³ pagodas (dagobas) dot the land, with more than a thousand in Mandalay alone. Pagodas and monasteries are the chief objects of interest. The faith holds unrivaled sway over the masses and enters deeply into the national life. Burma is more truly, although conservatively, Buddhist than any other land. The 19,925,000 people of Thailand are mostly Buddhist. Buddhism is virtually the state religion; Thailand is the only country where the faith is thus established. Every layman serves as a monk for at least a brief term. Most of the village and more than half the government schools are located in the *wats*, or "temples," education and religion thus being closely associated. Ceylon has a population of 8,384,000, and the majority of the people belong to the Buddhist faith. In Tibet, Lamaism must be accounted Buddhist. The order includes the entire population of 1,000,000. Lamaism is highly mixed with demon-worship and stands, therefore, in marked contrast with the order elsewhere. Although the Burmese and the Tibetans are kindred peoples, their countries differ greatly. Their religions vary, even as the forbidding plateaus, gloomy precipices, and dark abysses of Tibet differ from the dense voluptuous forests and the watered, joyous plains of Burma. The lamas of Tibet—there are several hundred thousand, in three thousand spacious lamaseries—have played, often unscrupulously, upon their peoples' fears. The Burmese monks are gentler, better educated, and more earnest. In India there are only 200,000 Buddhists. In Pakistan, too, there is only a small Buddhist population.

We have accounted so far for less than 90,000,000. The rest are found mainly in China. The bulk of the Chinese people, insofar as they are at all religious, are essentially Buddhist.

TWO VEHICLES. There are differences other than race and country in the Buddhist world. There are two main "schools," or "vehicles," the Hinayana, and the Mahayana. The former happens to be predominantly "southern," and

often bears that name, while the latter is predominantly "northern." But the schools are not geographically exclusively divided; there are Hinayanists in China and Japan, and Mahayana elements in Burma and Ceylon. The division is all-important on higher grounds; the "southern" school assumes that it has preserved the teachings of the Buddha himself, as he gave them to his first disciples; the "northern" school is manifestly a broader interpretation. Both have ample scriptures, including a common literature, but in general the Hinayanist writings are in Pali, Buddha's own vernacular, while the Mahayanist writings are in Sanskrit, the language of Brahmanical Hinduism. Even so, the two are kindred languages, differences in terminology consisting often in varied spellings rather than in separate meanings; although, at times, Buddhism has one definition for a term while Hinduism has another.

Mahayana is more alert today than Hinayana, especially in Japan. Japanese docility and Mahayana philosophy combine to afford accommodation in Buddhist thought and practice to Christian competition and Western science. Mahayana has never been essentially dependent upon an historical Buddha. Dates and documents have never mattered much to this idealism. Never altogether lacking in social outlook, Mahayana is peculiarly able, through its profound philosophy, to prosecute modern education and even to revive its ideal of world-dominion. Hinayana, also, has been astir in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, although it has been dependent upon dates and documents and must adapt them by means of new interpretations. Both schools are conscious of their relation to the present world. There is a thoroughgoing Buddhist philosophy of mind and conduct which may have a further value for those who seek the sounder ways of living in a world where failure and frustration have often been man's lot, even though *we* may never don the yellow robe, with staff and begging-bowl, and join the Buddhist monk in his quest of the jewel in the heart of the lotus.⁴

BUDDHIST IMAGES. Buddha-images are everywhere, especially in Buddhist lands. Perhaps we are familiar with them as we have them in America: small, brass, bronze, or gilded figures of the Buddha, gracefully clad in a flowing robe, seated and serene, legs crossed and the soles of the feet upturned, arms resting on the thighs, parallel with them or crossed, with the palms of the hands upturned, typical of indifference to the world about, of the mastery of self, and of peace of mind. We may use such an image as a paper-weight, or ink-stand, with never a thought of the meaning in terms of long days and lingering nights spent in abstract contemplation, of fleshly passions cooled, earthly desires eradicated, and mighty, human conflict won. If the image is a work of art, not a caricature, it will give us this deeper meaning. The Buddha-images are, of course, of all sorts, especially where the faith is of long standing, as in Ceylon, Burma, China, and Japan. Sometimes they seem mere milestones, memorials of times that have passed. Some of them, however, lodge where multitudes of worshipers are wont to gather and are emblems of a living faith. Near Anuradhapura, in Ceylon, in a wild and secluded situation, there is an enormous standing figure carved from the solid rock, rising some forty feet in height, with the right arm raised as if bestowing a benediction or pointing the upward way. Near Rangoon, in Burma, is a huge reclining figure built of stone, the head, however, resting bolt upright. This image is so large that two or three persons could squeeze into an ear. At Kamakura, on the south shore of Japan, is the Dai-butsu, or Giant Buddha, a bronze casting of A.D. 1252, representing the Buddha seated in contemplation. This image is commonly reproduced in miniature for the trade. The Dai-butsu is fifty feet in height and thirty-six from knee to knee. The eyes are of pure gold, and the symbol on the forehead is wrought of thirty pounds of silver. The figure sits upon a lotus-blossom pedestal, in one side of which an entrance gives access to a ladder, by which one may climb through the figure to its shoulders, and look about him upon beautiful stretches of land and sea. This

imposing work of art is suggestive of perfect repose and passionless calm. In addition to such heroic images, there are innumerable smaller figures in the temples. Often there are rows of them, each carved in the likeness of the one traditional form, all showing the one goal of the Buddhist quest. In the carvings of the temples there is wider variety. In the chiselings and etchings are portrayed the major phases of the Buddha's life, who being first a Hindu passed in the grip of *karma* through many births, and appeared from birth to birth in many forms. The birth stories bulk large as temple decorations in wood and stone. These stories gather up a wealth of legend and folklore, which have attached themselves to the Buddha tradition in its national settings.

PAGODAS. Even more suggestive of Buddhism is the pagoda, the tall, many-sided, and many-storied tower standing conspicuous, beside a temple, or else quite alone, in every Buddhist land. The word pagoda is literally *but-kadah*, "idol-temple." But the structure is not a temple, nor primarily a place of worship; it rests, supposedly, above a relic of the Buddha, particularly some part of his body, which has been carried abroad. Pagodas are, therefore, symbols of the widespread faith, the most characteristic feature of Buddhist architecture. Several in China are very beautiful; the largest one is in Rangoon. In Burma, it is the custom to hang bells—"tinkly temple-bells"—from the pagoda balconies, which murmur their soft music in the gentle breezes.

THE TEMPLE AT RANGOON. The Shwe Dagon temple of Rangoon is one of the most important centers of religion. It is not only the most sacred, but also the largest and finest temple in Indo-China. The pagoda, they say, contains not only relics of the Buddha, but relics, also, of his three immediate predecessors. When the first missionaries came with their precious eight hairs of *the* historical Buddha, they found, already interred in the sacred mound, these relics of three previous "buddhas"! The temple is a stately pile, standing on a mound of rectangular terraces at the

edge of the city, dominating the entire landscape. The topmost level stands one hundred and sixty-six feet above the open flagged space surrounding the lower entrance. This upper terrace, about nine hundred feet long by nearly seven hundred wide, is reached by steps on each side which ascend under handsomely carved teakwood roofs, supported on huge wood and masonry pillars. At the top, in the center, stands the towering pagoda, with a circumference at the base of nearly fourteen hundred feet, and a height of three hundred and seventy. Profusely gilded from base to summit, it is surmounted by a gilded iron *ti*, "umbrella," from whose rings hang great numbers of jeweled bells. Four chapels stand at the four cardinal quarters of its base. In the northeast corner, covered by a gaily decorated wooden shed, hangs one of the largest bells in the world. Along the western edge of the terrace rests, under its magnificently carved canopy, a colossal recumbent statue of the Buddha.

Carvings abound, representing Buddhist episodes. From them one may read much of history. Usually they tell the story of religion; but there is a curious, secular panel over the eastern chapel. It illustrates the capture of the temple by British troops during the First Burmese War in 1824, showing the foreign soldiers with their rifles, the officers with their telescopes, and, underneath, the conquered Burmans! The many features of the temple represent accretions during many centuries—the Burmans dare to say as many as twenty-five! The center is resorted to by worshipers from every part of Indo-China, but is especially dear to Burmese. The terraces are never vacant; somewhere a pilgrim is at prayer. The bells quiver on the high pagoda balcony, and those along the passages are ever testifying, as the pilgrims strike them, that worship is in progress, especially when midnight is bright with moonlight.

Among the worshipers the monk is most conspicuous, moving in their midst, at times entirely unnoticed. With his shaven head, in his own peculiar garb, fingering his rosary, his lips moving without sound, he seems cut off from

the world of matter, cherishing only deep religious thoughts. Yet he may normally live in one of the monasteries not far from the temple, with boys in training for the priesthood, one day to be ordained by him. When he is in the temple, worship is his sole concern. He prostrates himself with dignity before an alabaster Buddha-image set with sparkling jewels. This attracts the laymen as they pass. They pause and seat themselves on the floor, ready to follow him as he prays. He repeats *sabba dukkha*, "all is sorrow," and the people say it. He murmurs *sabba anatta*, "all is transient, or unreal," and this, too, the group repeats. He is sure that these are the very words which the serene image would recite, could it speak. They are the words of Buddha. They are, as we shall see, the central theme of Buddhist thought. As the monk and the people repeat them in the presence of the image, their minds are kept upon the goal. They are not idol-worshippers, least of all the monk. He is perhaps a learned man; probably, of the old or Hinayana school, which takes no stock in idols. Nor does the image *represent* to him a god. He has no god. The Buddha is merely the pattern of what he, too, would become. As the monk prays, his "prayer" is merely meditation on the "truths" the Buddha taught. As he turns his steps toward the temple, he merely follows still the "path" which brings release from sorrow and from change. He seeks deliverance, but his hope lies in himself and in his code.

But the people in the temple? What of them? They, also, look upon the image, and they pray. They may, perhaps naïvely, be idolaters. To many of them the Buddha doubtless is of heavenly essence and a god. Most of them fix their thoughts on him as God. They cannot, like the learned monk, have recourse to abstraction and thereby cut the ties that bind them to the world of sense and human action. Indeed, the monk himself may be an object of devotion. He is, at least, a good example. Once they may have known him as an ordinary man; now he has severed his "attachments," and they revere him. Then, beyond him, is his own pattern, the Buddha, whom they may see in him.

We may call their reverence worship, especially if it be directed to the Buddha. Such is the quality of their prayers, prostrations, flower-offerings, and lighted candles. They do not always worship with the monks; they engage in their devotions when and where they will.

CHINESE BUDDHISM. In China, a somewhat different scene is to be found. Chinese Buddhism centers in the monastery, with the temple buildings within the monastery courtyard. This arrangement reflects the manner by which the foreign faith secured its hold on China, by monks and monasteries. There was no general *lay* conversion. The monk keeps himself apart, and the monastery is the unit of the faith's corporate existence.

THE MONASTERY. The monastery stands usually upon a hill; a common term for the temple is, therefore, *shan* (or "mountain"). Some of the "heights" were, doubtless, Taoist in the early days, and Buddhism has conserved their ancient sanctity. It served itself heir to what it could absorb. The hill, usually, is tree-clad, with water and a garden at the base. If it be a rugged mountain, the monastery buildings occupy a slope with venerable trees, a rock garden, and a clear stream with waterfalls. The building site is walled. Each structure it encloses is distinct. The monk's houses are separated from the halls of worship. The temple, within the courtyard proper, may be threefold: (1) the Hall of the Kings of Heaven, the divine guardians of the monastery, (2) the Hall of the Great Hero Buddha, which occupies the center, and (3) the Hall of Law. The central Hall of Buddha is the largest; its roof projects above the others. All the roofs are curved, with overhanging eaves, as in ordinary Chinese architecture, which form the principal external decoration. The interior of each hall is plain; wall paintings are very rare. There may be lotus symbols in the wooden floors. If it be a Mahayanist monastery, the type commonest in China, the profusion of art is shown chiefly in the temple gods.⁵

MAHAYANA: PRAYER FOR RAIN. The contrast between the Hinayana Burmese and the Mahayana Chinese cult lies not only in the monastery setting; the monastic functions differ. Take, for illustration, a Chinese Buddhist prayer for rain, a ceremony held in the Hall of the Law. The seasons in Burma are pronounced and regular. Burmese monks do not pray for rain; they know about when to expect it. Furthermore, the Hinayana monks are not supposed to pray. In China, prolonged droughts are often unseasonable. In the midst of them, the distressed farmers may, in the end, other means having failed, have recourse to the monastery. The Mahayana monks are used to prayer. For the rain ceremony, a green cloth is spread upon the altar (the color in itself is magical), on which are images of the Dragon King who controls the rain. Flowers, fruits, and incense are spread before the images. The monks may don green garments suggesting either rain or, in season, spring. They first fulfill a period of abstinence and purification, similar to the abstinence observed by a Roman Catholic priest before a mass. During the ritual, some of them recite appropriate stanzas of scripture, while others attend to the offerings, the incense, and the sprinkling of water. If the ritual be prolonged from day to day, alternating groups maintain the continuity.

The rite may open with this stately and effective chant:

Pearly dew of the jade heavens, golden waves of Buddha's ocean, scatter the lotus-flowers on the thousand thousand worlds of suffering, that the heart of mercy may wash away our great calamity, that a single drop may become as a great flood, that a drop may purify the mountains and the rivers.

We put our trust in the *bodhisattvas* and the *mahasattvas* ⁶ that purify the earth.

A monk with a bowl of water then thrice repeats, "We put our trust in the great, merciful *Kwanyin bodhisattva*" (the Chinese *Goddess of Mercy*). Then there may follow this chant:

The *bodhisattva's* sweet dew of the willow can make one drop spread over the ten directions. It washes away the rank odors and the impure. It keeps the altars pure and clean.

During further chanting by certain monks, others walk around the altar, while one sprinkles water on the floor. As the water is sprinkled, the chanting monks repeat,

We put our trust in the sweet dew-kings, the *bodhisattvas* and the *mahasattvas*.⁶

Assuming that the spirits have now come to the altar, while the abbot offers incense, the monks repeat, three times,

The fields are destroyed, and, with their gaping cracks, resemble the back of the tortoise. The demons of drought have produced calamity. The dark people [the Chinese] pray earnestly even while their crops are being destroyed. We pray that abundant, flowing water may descend to purify and refresh the whole world. The clouds of incense rise.

This is followed by the invocation,

We cast ourselves wholeheartedly to the earth, O Three Jewels, who dost exist eternally in the realm of the *dharma* [the Law] of the ten directions.

Thereafter, much time is devoted to meditation upon the drought and the powers of the saints to help. Attention is called to the fact that Buddha himself prayed for rain and that the service follows his example. Lest any availing power be overlooked, stanzas are recited in honor of "the king of light," and various groups of "dragon kings." Magical formulas are employed, the monastery bell is rung, and the wooden fish-gong is beaten, along with drums and cymbals. The potent name of the *bodhisattva Kwanyin* is repeated thousands of times. . . . And so the ceremony goes on until the rain arrives. This is one of the many services which are the peculiar prerogative of the Chinese Buddhist monastery. They are examples of a far more objective and theistic religion than any monkish ritual in Burma. And as for the people, also, we see nowhere in Buddhist China scenes like those at the Shwe Dagon pagoda. The Chinese monastery is not a popular resort.

BUDDHISM IN JAPAN. And now we pass to extraordinarily enlightened Japan. Buddhist temples of Japan stand in extreme contrast with those of Burma, both in atmosphere and

ritual. Japanese Buddhism, like that of China, is mainly Mahayanist. There are contrasts, too, with China, but mainly in connection with the monks. The Japanese monks are a higher type—higher, also, than the Burman.

The temples of Nikko are symbols of Mahayana at its best. Imagine a spacious garden with a rustic gateway. Along the outer walls, old and decaying, cling hardy vines of purple cryptomeria. You pass along a green lane, with a high, thick hedge on either side. Gnarled and picturesque pine trees tower above you. Clusters of scented ferns flourish in sheltered nooks. Along the lane, you approach the red walls of the temple courtyard, above which looms the great, curved, thickly tiled roof of the shrine. A massive gateway leads into the temple court, a graveled space with rows of lanterns made of stone and bronze, standing with their ashes as memorials of the dead. Inside the temple are altars of rare beauty, images of chaste design, hangings of brocaded gold, censers with their smoking incense, deep-toned drums, and silver bells. Shaven-headed priests in their simple robes and reverent lay worshipers move noiselessly. Ornamented tables are set about, with handsome vessels on them of various shapes and sizes. The floor is spread with matting. Huge vases, holding gilded lotus-flowers, stand beside the walls. Delicate carvings cover both the walls and ceilings. The setting is artistic, clean, and dainty. You say, perhaps, that the power of Japanese Buddhism is aesthetic, inhering in the arts, in the sense of mysterious beauty, and in the allurements of a world of mystery, of which the shrine itself reminds you. Perhaps you yield, in this environment, to contemplation and repose. What a place in which to cast all cares aside!

Although no ritual may be in progress, ceremonies of all sorts are held from time to time: matins, vespers, masses for the dead, and so on. Worship is not congregational, but by groups of monks, or by the layman independently. Perhaps the mood is much the same as elsewhere in Mahayana temples. How much in worship is intelligent, how much formal, how much falls below the common level, it is diffi-

cult to say. Who can say how much the common people understand? They bow their heads and prostrate themselves before the images; they mutter many conventional prayer formulas and bestow their offerings; they clap their hands (handclapping in the temples is distinctive of the Japanese). On the whole, we may suppose that Buddhism in Japan shares the general temper of the land, and expresses itself in terms of the common mind. We may suppose, therefore, that many of the common people pray with understanding, and find new power through devotion. To many of the highly educated, Buddhism provides a character and force beyond anything natively religious.

THE FAITH. Having passed hastily from land to land, we turn now to the faith itself, which we have seen exhibited. What are its basic teachings? How did they take form? How have they pressed their claims upon mankind in various countries? Are there values for the world today? What, indeed, is Buddhism? We have watched and overheard both monks and laymen at their prayers. We have seen certain objects of their devotion, including the Buddha, gods, and spirits. We know there are, at least, two schools of thought. These are only clues, however, to an intricate, amazing faith.

Buddhism as a word means "wisdom," or "enlightenment" (in Pali, *bodhi*; in Sanskrit, *buddhi*). Although *buddhi* is not merely intellectual knowledge, Buddhism is, in origin, something of an intellectual faith. The Buddha is the intellectual who possessed this "wisdom," or "enlightenment," which he formulated for mankind. When, therefore, we look for Buddhist origins, we encounter first of all a person, one of the noblest of all the sons of men. His figure happens to be much clearer than that of his contemporary, the Jainist Mahavira, and even more distinct than the person of Confucius, although neither the year of his birth, nor the year of his death, is exactly known. There are, in non-Indian history, no contemporary references to Buddha. There are no native manuscripts contemporary with him. In the *Digha-nikaya*, or "Long Collection," the oldest Hina-

yana source, there is not a single line from Buddha, or from one of his disciples. Nor are Mahayana writings more dependable as source materials. Yet we have reliable details about him; we may depend upon tradition. The third century B.C. supplies our earliest sources. These are chiefly inscriptions and relics of the renowned Emperor Asoka (Ashoka). They testify to the Buddha, his racial heritage, the time and place of his birth, the existence of a cult of "buddhas," and the major teachings. A commemorative stone pillar, discovered in 1896 by the British Archeological Survey, was erected by Asoka about 250 B.C. It bore the legend, "*Hida Budhe jate Sakyamuniti*," or, "Here was born Buddha, Jewel of the Shakyas."

THE FOUNDER. Gotama (in Pali, Gotama; in Sanskrit, Gautama), the Buddha, was born about 560 B.C. in the Lumbini Gardens, near the town of Kapilavatthu, a hundred miles north of Kashi (or Banaras). The town stood at the margin of the plain, where the slopes of the Himalayas level off. In the distance lies the long, high range of mighty, snow-clad peaks, including Chomo Lungma, which we call Everest. In a figure, another mighty range called Hinduism lay along the west. The Shaka tribe (not *caste*, for caste was hardly established in that region then) occupied a plain which Hinduism had not yet subjugated. Gotama's father was a ruling chieftain of the Shakas; his mother was a noble lady from a kindred tribe. At the time the babe was born, the mother was on her way to visit her parents in their own country. Pausing for rest among the sal-trees in the Gardens near her husband's city, she was suddenly seized by the birth pains. Sheltered by the trees, which, says the legend, bent their branches all about her, and shielded by the draperies of her female attendants, her to-be-famous son was born. While tradition has magnified the event, we may still believe that it was an occasion of rejoicing; warrior folk are happy when a son is born. Both families and the inhabitants of both cities, his father's and his mother's, celebrated. Legend adds that gods as well as men acclaimed him, and that the babe, with his first breath, proclaimed

himself "chief in all the world." Sculpture sometimes shows him taken from his mother's right side, the gods assisting, thus emphasizing his unique quality and possibly his initial independence of the law of *karma* and transmigration. It is well to know that it was customary then in courts, on the eve of royal births, to fabricate predictions that a son would become a "world-ruler," or a "world-savior." What there is in Buddhist tradition beyond such a mere prediction may be the fantastic results of development, of success in annexing the culture and folklore of more picturesque religions. Original Buddhism must have been barren of portent and miracle.

We may believe that the child enjoyed the advantages of a raja's son, that he was attended by well-educated nurses, and that "the future Buddha began to grow, surrounded by a retinue and in great splendor." At sixteen, he seems to have been provided with three lodges of his own, each in its appropriate site, one for each of the three seasons, rainy, cool, and hot. We may believe that, in his earliest years, the prince was "secluded from life's rougher realities," as one record says, but that, in due time, he received the training proper to his station. Reared in easy circumstances, he may have been inclined to pleasure; he always had the means to gain it. One record says his relatives complained that he indulged too much in pleasure, that his father rebuked him for it, and for devoting too little thought to his career as raja. Contradictions have crept into the story through efforts to accommodate the early, normal facts to his career as a teacher of morals and religion. In those days, it was not "good form" for warriors' sons to manifest unusual interest in studies of a literary character. Horses, chariots, and knightly exercises were prerogatives of royalty. Gotama was a skilful horseman, and a good shot with the bow, having "a twelve-fold skill such as no other archer then could equal."

He was married at nineteen to Yashodhara, a princess from a neighboring state. After nearly ten years, their only child was born, a son named Rahula. Meanwhile, we may

suppose, some alteration was occurring in his outlook; there were no sudden changes in his life. Had he been more a Hindu, he would have followed out the scheme of *ashramas*, or stages, as the custom was. He was a Hindu of a sort and remained so to the end, but he was not a Brahman. He might have seemed to his contemporaries to be following the normal program of the "twice-born," but his followers understood that he had followed, perhaps at first unconsciously, a program of his own. Ascetics must have had some influence on him. They were of many kinds; he was familiar with them. He enrolled at last as one of them.

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION. At twenty-nine, an early age for such a step, he undertook the Great Renunciation. Having taken serious thought of life, a revulsion set in against the fleshly passions; he had no wish to be a ruling chieftain. He would renounce his family and his kingdom—scarcely realizing he was bound to institute a world religion. There is no evidence that before he was married he questioned the propriety of marriage. Was it an indication of a change of mind that he gave his son the name of Rahula, or "fetter," a tie binding one unduly to the world? Something positive, also, may have moved him. His eyes were opened to the misery in the world about him, and his heart assumed some obligation to dispel it. The *Digha-nikaya* compresses into the brief space of a pleasure-ride four experiences immediately responsible for Gotama's Great Renunciation. As he rode in his sumptuous chariot drawn by four blooded steeds "as white as the petals of the white lotus," he beheld four "signs" at intervals along the way: (1) "a decrepit old man, broken-toothed, gray-haired, crooked and bent of body, leaning on a staff, and trembling"; (2) "a diseased man, whom the gods had fashioned so," repulsive with running sores; (3) "a dead man, whose condition the gods had ordained"; and (4) "a monk, carefully and decently clad, in the form the gods had fashioned."

Thinking of the old man, Gotama was distressed that every man must face the question of old age and weakness.

He saw, also, that men were subject to disease and death, baffled by disaster and decrepitude, from which even death would not release them—Gotama held the doctrine of re-birth and *karma*. Why disease? Must it be? Is there no cure? Is death inevitable? Can life be extended and death delayed? To what degree are sickness, age, and death compatible with *life*? Science in our day is working on prolongations and escapes, whatever be the motive. Gotama merely was a thinker on these problems, without a laboratory, and lacking scientific instruments. He would find escapes through reason! Yet, at first, he sought them by renunciation. The monk impressed him. Here was a “decently clothed” ascetic (therefore, not a “sky-clad” Jainist, common in that day), a holy man whose very mien betokened his “release.” He may have been a *shramana*, a *paribrajika*, a *bhikku*, or a *sannyasi*, living outside organized society. Were he a *shramana*, he was indifferent to caste, wandering homeless for the sake of some higher spiritual existence. Were he a *sannyasi*, he had entered the fourth *ashrama* of earthly life, and likewise had cut the ties with earth and men, awaiting his time of union with the All. Whoever he was, he seemed to Gotama the symbol of a true way of living. Gotama determined to follow his example.

One night, in the cool of the year, “in the middle watch,” he arose quietly from his couch beneath the parental roof-tree, took a last look (without longing, probably) into the quarters where his wife and young son lay, and, deserting all his earthly kindred, left the palace. Mounting a favorite charger, with a trusty servant running by his side, he rode off to the edge of his father’s kingdom. Beyond the river boundary, he stopped, dismounted, doffed his costly robes, stripped off his ornaments, and cut off with his sword the flowing locks “not suited to the monk.” Donning a coarse, yellow garb, and taking only two extra garments, a bowl for alms, a razor, needle, belt and water-strainer, he made his journey afoot and alone to Rajagaha, capital of the state of Magadha, there to begin the great quest formally.

He who had renounced so much had two qualities, the records say, in unusual measure: compassion and intellectual skill. These, with fidelity to his own self, determined both the character of his quest and the goal he found. The citizens of Rajagaha merely noted that one more man, a chieftain's son and heir, had adopted the ascetic way. They knew him better later. His father's city noted his departure. Some people recalled that he had once extended mercy to a stricken deer. Others remembered his wisdom in the marketplace. Some, including his son Rahula, were destined to become his followers. For six years, he followed a beaten trail across the world, where men often grieve in conflict of soul and visit misery upon each other. He took the *karma-marga*, the "way of works," by which many more had sought to rid themselves of conflict and a miserable existence. He might have taken the *jnana-marga*, or "way of knowledge," but this did not appeal to him at first. Had the *bhakti-marga*, or "way of devotion," then been known, he doubtless would have avoided it, for it was too theistic. He took the plain, broad way of works, the strict, ascetic way, on which one travels light, but strenuously. He followed it through towns and villages and off into the deep jungles. He met many teachers of religion, and discussed his quest with them. He met ascetics and conferred with them. He disciplined his mind and body so severely that he finally became a shadow of his former vigorous self. Gradually he gained influence, if not satisfaction; his works made a deep impression on many. Some began to follow him about.

Five men, in particular, who figure prominently in the later story, were won to him by his "austerities." He was extraordinarily severe; he ate little, drank little; he exerted every effort to subdue the body and the senses, that his spirit might rise freely above the world of mere material things. These men approved his ways and sought to imitate them; but they soon saw fit to leave him, for another change occurred in him. He left the plain, broad way so familiar to the people of that day; he gave up the way of

great austerity; it had not given him the sense of peace he craved. His active mind must have gone unsatisfied; it was restless still. He says the way of works became as futile as an effort "to tie the air in knots." His five disciples felt, then, that he had proved false to the great ideal; to seek merit by any other way was to them as futile as "bathing with a dew-drop." They withdrew; and he went on alone. He suffered some discouragement; his restlessness continued; he was weak, well nigh exhausted. But perhaps he had in mind the *jnana-marga*. Philosophic speculation had been current. Many thinkers were discussing problems of life, its origin, character, and destiny.

Once he stopped to rest at a spot of destiny, near the town of Gaya, eastward a hundred and fifty miles from Kashi (Banaras). He sat under a fig tree, which from the event became one of the most famous trees of the world. Doubtless, it was a spot already dear to Hindus; perhaps the tree was sacred, with a shrine beneath it. Gotama may have been attracted to it by its sanctity. It became the place of his enlightenment. It became the Bo tree, "tree of wisdom." Gotama, sitting under it, became the Buddha, "the Wise or Enlightened."

A TEMPTATION. As he sat reflecting on the change come over him, there came a man to do him homage, as if he were the spirit of the tree personified. Was this event an outward confirmation of what the inner mind of Buddha knew had happened in him? If so, it must have given him a new appreciation of himself. Later, he explained what had happened to him as he sat beneath the Bo tree: that through meditation he attained concentration of mind; that through unity of mind he attained to insight, vision, and enlightenment. He had found the "way of wisdom." To what extent was this unique? It seems a normal Hindu process. It reminds us of what had happened to Mahavira. But no two men ever have the same experience. At least, the ingredients are different. Yajnavalkya, Mahavira, Buddha—each is himself. We must find out what Buddha meant by "wis-

dom." He himself did not know at first. Whatever part his former discipline may have played in his achievement, in giving him a keener mind, he felt that he had found new satisfaction, not through works, but by a mental process. He was returning to a more normal manner of existence; he would not abuse his body, but rather nourish it moderately, for the good of his soul. He was no longer travel-weary and downcast; he was alert; he sat and "never blinked his eyes." A tide of bliss set in.

Even as he sat there, he communed thus with himself, "Sure is my release; this is my last birth; there is no further birth for me." He was aglow with confidence that the law of *karma* no longer dominated him, that he was no longer caught in the meshes of an entangling world (*samsara*). He had passed through storm and stress, but he had found calm. Into his calm, however, there came a surprising temptation. Often, "just when we think we're safest, there's a sunset touch." Buddha was tempted strongly to enter at once into complete retirement and to enjoy his "wisdom" until his earthly end should come and he should enter into nirvana; or, virtually, to enter nirvana immediately and not be drawn aside by any other thought or aim. Had he no duty to his fellow men? Did he hesitate about his power to communicate to others the methods and the fruits of his own search? Must not every man find, at last, his own way? However, Buddha triumphed gloriously over this temptation; he had "compassion on all beings," not merely on a stricken deer; he willed to spend his life that all others might find the way. For forty-five years afterwards he lived to expound his way of wisdom.

THE BO TREE. The Bo tree became the symbol not only of enlightenment, but also of temptation and its overcoming, the symbol of a new way opened up for every "wanderer and searcher for the peaceful state most excellent." In our day, pilgrims come to Buddh-Gaya (near Patna) from Ceylon, Burma, and Tibet, especially, to visit it, assuming that they find the very tree under which the Master sat. The faithful fondly believe that cuttings from the original

found their way to other lands where they are tree-shrines in their own right. There is one, they say, at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon, which was planted in 240 B.C. by Asoka's younger sister, Sanghamitra. If one doubts that the Bo tree of Buddh-Gaya is authentic, he may still believe the Anuradhapura tree to be the oldest in existence. Who would deny the faithful the satisfaction of so inspiring a fiction!

THE SERMON AT BĀNARAS. Buddha went from the Bo tree to Bānaras, where he met again the five disciples and persuaded them to listen to his famous Sermon. Maybe it was providential that they had left him for a while. There was no room for them under the Bo tree. Buddha had to tread that way alone. Now he could tell of his experience and recommend it to them. They sat together in the Deer Park, outside Banaras, now marked by the ruins of Sarnath. He spoke of the four "Certainties" which he had formulated, including the "Middle Path" between the "two extremes" of "devotion to the pleasures of sense," and "devotion to self-mortification." This middle way, he said, "giveth vision, which giveth knowledge, which causeth calm, insight, enlightenment, and nibbana."

THE FOUR CERTAINTIES (or "Noble Truths") are the following:

1. *Sabba dukkha*, "all is sorrow, pain, and suffering"; *sabba anatta*, "all is change, impermanence, and unreality." This is a world of *dukkha*, and man, especially, is unreal. Birth, growth, sickness, decay; grief, tears, and despair; association with persons and things which we dislike, separation from persons and things we like; not getting what we want, getting what we do not want; death and rebirth—all these are the painful lot of man. This is life, and life is this way, because man lives in a realm of change. Through change the world is undependable. Man, also, by change is undependable. Nothing abides. This is the first truth for man to learn.

2. *Tanha*, "desire, craving, and thirst," is the *cause* of *dukkha*, sorrow, pain, and suffering, which characterize this world of change. *Tanha* brings man to birth; merely being

born is the greatest of misfortunes. Man's own desire, or mankind's desire, creates this world of unreality. Craving is at the root of all events in life. Not merely "wishing," but a deep-running impulse, or potent tendency, makes for sorrow and holds men in its grip. Men are in the grip of *karma*; the use of *tanha* is one of Buddha's ways of saying this. As long as men allow themselves to "thirst" for mortal life, they move in the current of *karma*. *Tanha* must be eradicated; this is the second truth for men to learn.

3. To find release from sorrow, pain, and suffering, to escape from the world of change, impermanence, and unreality, man must get rid of desire, crush craving, and deny his thirst. This is a third truth in itself. More especially, one should take no thought at death of what he would like to become through rebirth; on the contrary, he should harbor no desire to be reborn. Only thus can he stop the flow of *karma*, and break the round of transmigration. By this "truth," Buddha adds a definite attitude to the fact of sorrow and the fact of sorrow's cause, desire.

4. The Middle Way, specifically, is the means of getting rid of desire, of crushing craving, and of denying thirst; and of escape from the world of change, impermanence, and unreality. It is not the way of the man who eats, drinks, and makes merry, indulging the flesh and the fleshly lusts. Nor is it the way of the ascetic who utterly denies the flesh, the bodily passions, and material comforts. The body is neither to be abused, nor indulged. The mind is in control; let no one question its integrity. Wisdom will find the middle way. Pure intellectual desire is not to be eradicated (else how might man yearn for his highest good?) but such desires as spring from fleshly sources.

THE PATH. The Middle Way is eightfold; it is a progressive, cumulative, constructive way; one treads it step by step. He clears the ground before he finds it. If one thinks of these steps as rules of living, he obeys them singly until he can obey them all together. There are times when any candidate must follow several rules on one occasion. Obviously, the steps are slowly taken; years may be devoted

to any one of them. They modify somewhat the Hindu *ashramas*, for example. Primarily, they apply to those who already have renounced the world. Buddha had undertaken the third *ashrama* before he found the Middle Way. His Sermon at Banaras was spoken to men who had entered at least the third, perhaps the fourth, stage of existence. But the Truths and the Middle Way are for all sorts and conditions of men. Any man might undertake the discipline, after he had assented to the doctrine. After he had taken the fourth step, or learned obedience to the fourth rule, he enjoyed the designation *chela*, or "disciple," having demonstrated right view, high aims, discipline of speech, and proper action. After the fifth step, he was termed a *bhikku*, "brother," literally "mendicant"; he had then renounced the world completely. After the eighth and last step, he was called an *arhat* (*arahant*), "saint," or "venerable." Actually, there were two grades of *arhats*; the second, so free of human passion that when they died, they virtually ceased existence—they "came not to rebirth."

These are the steps or rules of the Middle Way, a series of "thou shalts," arranged in a constructive sequence:

1. *Right view*, a generous attitude, a tolerant open-mindedness, especially with regard to the new teaching and the new teacher. This is both sound theory and indispensable practice. The Buddha had to create within his audience of five the open mind. He had to make them free to question the *Vedas* and Brahmanical institutions and willing to discard old notions. Attention, reflection, and scepticism are essential factors in conversion. The Buddha had decided to convert all creatures, and so he first commanded open-mindedness.

2. *High aims*, such as kindness and the spirit of benevolence; willingness to do things helpful to others; contentment to get on without many things, and the resolve never to be resentful, nor harmful of manner.

3. *Discipline of speech*, right speech instead of lying, backbiting, and abuse; instead even of idle babble, which is forbidden. When men babble about unimportant things,

they become indifferent to important matters. He thought the chatter that he daily heard unprofitable. He cautioned his hearers against talking angrily in wrath or pride; against taking delight in others' faults, and carping at others' failings. He commanded silence, which brings poise to the mind and peace to the heart. He spoke of silence that takes no offense, although other men speak evil of you.

4. *Right action*. By this he meant never taking what is not given; abstaining from intoxicating drink, and avoiding drunkenness; holding the sexual passions in check, and committing no murder. Although he spoke of right action in terms of its opposites, he conceived of the virtue positively.

5. *Right living*, or livelihood, or vocation; engaging in no trade or profession by which financial profit is made from men's distresses—from the slave-trade, for example; holding to the general doctrine of noninjury (*ahimsa*) to man and beast, or any living being.

6. *Right effort*, self-control; the will to prevent evil conditions from arising; the will to overcome and destroy evil conditions which have arisen; and the will to cause good to arise and be fulfilled.

7. *Watchful-mindedness*, that is, guarding the mind against desire or dejection; being on the alert to prevent impressions which communicate desire, dejection, or other harm.

8. *Concentration* of mind, which ultimately leads "beyond the sphere of thinking"; that is, which leads into an ecstatic state in which there is immediate awareness that all shackles have been broken, all desire crushed, and perfect poise and peace attained.

These, then, are the four Noble Truths of which the Buddha felt certain. He himself had experienced them; in his Sermon at Banaras he expounded in some detail his own experience. The five men were converted; they accepted the truths and the living illustration of the truths in the Buddha himself; and forthwith they rejoined the Master that they might walk the Middle Way and come at last by it to nirvana. They were the nucleus of the new Order, to

which the Law was delivered by the Buddha. In a sense, they took "refuge" in the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, the first to do so of all the millions.

THE ORDER. The Sermon at Banaras on the Four Certainties and the Middle Way was based upon the Buddha's own experience. It was sketchy and was pronounced to the ears of a small company; but it gave the gist of Buddhism. No major alteration, but only detailed elaboration succeeded it. It was the basis of the Law (the *Dharma*), even as Buddha's own experience was the basis of his Wisdom (*Buddhi*). The five who listened and became converted were the nucleus of the new Order (the *Sangha* or "Association"). They were the first to take refuge in the Buddha, in the Law, and in the Order, and the first to accept the Truths and him in whom they were embodied, even though they did not at first fully comprehend. The record says that Kondanna, a Brahman, was the first to comprehend; he was therefore ordained a *bhikku*, "brother." He "saw the Law, understood the Law, plunged into the Law, crossed over beyond doubt, banished questioning, and reached independent certainty." In time, the other four, Vappa the Samkhyist, Mahanama and Bhaddiya of Rajagaha, and Assaji, were ordained as "brothers." Vappa later on resigned, finding himself still Samkhyist in mind, believing in Man (*Purusha*) as unchanging being. Monkish vows could be abjured or revoked; a monk might return to the world. No one, however, of the first disciples holds such prominence in Buddhist circles as was attained by four others who later joined the ranks: Kassapa and Ananda, both of whom survived their Master; Sariputta and Moggallana. Ananda might be called "the blessed intimate" of Buddha.

Buddha's Wisdom gained an ever-widening hearing. There was a crisis at the time in India. Mahavira had sought to meet it. Many "heresies" were current. Both institutions and ideas were criticized. Buddha proved to be the strongest critic of his day. He gained adherents rapidly. He traveled extensively during the cool and dry seasons; for the rains he retired to accessible retreats, where he dis-

cussed his theories at length with the inner circle of his adherents. He patiently repeated all his fundamentals. Many things he taught were learned by rote; most of what he taught was orally transmitted through several generations. We may trust the records which were made two centuries afterwards to give us the essentials which for a while were orally transmitted. What are the scriptures which preserve the exposition of his teachings?

SCRIPTURES. The Buddhist Canon offers many problems. We cannot date the literature exactly. There is no dependable chronology before Asoka, and after him, literary dates are hard to reckon. There is, first, the major problem of the two schools of teaching. Ordinarily, we say that Hinayana is the older. Some would contend that certain Mahayana works are nearer to original Buddhism. They think of Hinayana as a narrowing development, for which the Buddha himself is not primarily responsible. Possibly it was not Buddha who developed Hinayana. Both sets of teachings may be divergent forms of the original. Hinayana has its likenesses to Samkhya and Yoga, and Mahayana, to Vedanta. There is a Hinayana Canon, and a Mahayana Canon; both agree upon the main points of the Sermon at Banaras. We are inclined to think that Hinayana lies closer to the Sermon and that its Canon gives us more faithfully a picture of Buddha, the Law, and the Order. This is the traditional view. We describe first the Hinayana Canon:

There are "three baskets" (*ti-pitaka*):

1. The *Sutta-pitaka*, or "Teaching-basket," containing the discourses (*sutta*, *sutra*) of the Master. It embodies various collections, or *nikayas*, such as the *Digha*, "long," the *Majjhima*, "middling," and the *Khuddaka*, "short." It contains various verses (*gathas*) about monks and the nuns, and many birth stories (*jatakas* or "forms of birth") of the Buddha;
2. The *Vinaya-pitaka*, or "Discipline-basket," containing five books of the rules of behavior for initiates of the Order. It is the ecclesiastical code by which the monks and nuns are governed.

3. The *Abhidhamma-pitaka*, or "Higher Doctrine-basket," containing seven books of expositions of the finer points of psychology and dogma. It is the higher (*abhi*) doctrine (*dhamma*) of the mind, as distinct from the *dhamma* as moral conduct.

The Mahayana Canon does not ignore these "baskets," but it includes elaborate writings of later centuries which embody idealistic and theistic views at variance with the Buddha's original teaching. Among these works may be mentioned the *Lotus of the Good Law* and the *Paradise Scriptures*, much in use in China and Japan.

BUDDHA'S GOSPEL. Buddha's general position is expounded in the *Sutta* and *Vinaya* baskets, the former giving us his Sermon and many expositions, with discussions of entanglements, release, faith, blessings, goodwill, happiness, holiness, the self, causation, buddhahood, and *Nibbana*; the latter providing light on matters ethical and ritual. We shall examine Buddha's views of human personality (the "self" and consciousness), of the world-process (*karma* and the "wheel of causation"), and, incidentally, of nirvana (*nibbana*, in Pali), a term which Buddha may have coined. His doctrines are profound, but in thought as well as in conduct he sought a middle way. He avoided "higher doctrine" in the sense of metaphysics, as "tending not to edification." He sought some middle ground between "being," at one extreme, and "non-being" at the other. He did not attempt cosmogony, and he lightly touched cosmology. On a middle ground, he probably would have held it wrong to say that if an object is not heavy, it is light; that if a surface is not rough, it must be smooth. He could not have declared nirvana to be annihilation or extinction. He is a *kind* of dualist, who finds a measure of compatibility between the "unreal" and the "real." He may deny the self, but he does not make it *maya*, or "illusion." His "non-self" (*anatta*) is not nonreality. His materialism is not the sort displayed by Samkhya and the Jainists; it is less pronounced. He may have dodged some issues which he did not care to follow through. He offers no judgment as to whether or not the

world is eternal, as to whether the soul and the body are or are not identical, as to whether the saint continues or does not continue after death. His chief assault was directed against the current doctrine of the soul (the *atman*), whether of one school or another. He countered with his own doctrine of *an-atman* (*anatta*). However, he assumed the world (*samsara*), and there was for him *something* involved in the process of transmigration. Furthermore, man to him was real enough, or the mind of man was strong enough, to release himself from the meshes of *samsara*. Denying the Hindu theory of transmigration, he countered with another doctrine of his own; for he must account for *karma*!

ANATTA (IMPERMANENCE). Let us call *anatta* "consciousness," for want of a better term. Buddha substituted "consciousness" for "soul," somewhat as our own Wundt and James have done. He talked in terms of feelings, volitions, sensations, and ideas. We might follow him readily in his exposition, if he had not rejected the person as an historical individual; if he had not contended that individuality is merely a matter of experience, and that personality is impermanent and phenomenal, begotten of ignorance, and nourished by desire. He says the individual is unreal. It is, in our experience, composed of elements and complexes, not one of which is properly an *atman* and has value of its own; nor may a value be assigned it, save as such value indicates what to be freed from. *Atman* is only a *name* for the elements and complexes of experience; it is not a designation of Reality. Yet the Buddha recognized Reality; he called it *dhammata*, or the continuance of the *dhammas*, the mobile elements or atoms of existence. He was, therefore, not a nihilist; there was room for *dhammas* in his doctrine of *anatta*.

One catches a note of expediency in Buddha's argument; he had to take account of theories other than his own. A certain dialogue throws light upon his method; he desired to maintain his own position. Once a disciple asked him plainly, "Is there a self, or is there not a self?" Buddha de-

clined to answer, and he went away. Then Buddha said to the "blessed" Ananda, "If I had said to him, There is a self, I should have been agreeing with the ascetics and the Brahmans, who teach everlastingness; if I had said, There is not a self, I should have been agreeing with those who teach annihilation."⁷ He had to contend, also, with the Jains. He denied the eternity of the Jainist *jiva*; his moderation triumphed over the Jains' extreme austerities; and for their *syad-vad*, or "maybe" doctrine, he proposed his "certainties." The real force of his argument is that the data of experience are not the ultimate realities. His philosophy in this form, without the handicap of metaphysics, could challenge both the thinker and the common man.

Buddha held a trilogy of matter, mind, and forces. His term for individual is "stream" (*santana*), a stream of consciousness. This harmonizes with his doctrine, *sabba anatta*, "all is change." The particles of mind and matter are held together by a force, but their relationship is more coincidence and spontaneity than what we should call causation or cause-and-effect. He hesitated to admit the validity of cause-and-effect relations. What then is the human person? In reply, we shall offer a sectarian (*Sarvasti-vadin*) interpretation of a realistic cast, which seems to us not far from what Buddha may have taught. It accords with passages in the *Majjhima-nikaya*, including these words, "Whatever form, Rahula, be it past, present, or future; inward, or outward; gross, or subtle; low, or high; near, or far; every form must be regarded thus, as it really is, by perfect insight: 'This is not mine: not this am I: herein is not the self of me.' " It admits of illustration by his figure of the chariot (see below).

THE PERSON. The human person is an aggregate, *five* "grasping groups" of *skandhas* (in Pali, *khandhas*). The *skandhas* are bodily elements and psychical states, with some force or forces, making and maintaining their aggregation. They are:

1. The body, that is, the more material elements, called as a unit *rupa*, which present to us the phenomenal "indi-

vidual." This "individual" is an aggregate of ten varieties of sense data: the five senses, touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight; and five corresponding sensations, which "manifest" themselves to the senses. But no distinction is drawn between sense data in the physical world and their appearance in the human person as sensations (we would say, no distinction of mind and matter). These elements, whether senses or sensations, are some of the impermanent, conditioned *dhammas* (*dharmas*) which collect and fall apart—by force of circumstance!

2. Feeling (*vedana*), one *dhamma* only. Although a single *dhamma*, it is treated as past, present, and future; it is continuous in three tenses. Feeling is the spontaneous concomitant of contact; contact is the manifestation of the union of an object and a sense, that is, sensation. This is the region of desire (*tanha*), for sense contacts are productive of desire.

3. Idea, conceiving (*samjna*), one *dhamma*. This one *dhamma* represents a totality of aspects and is, therefore, treated as a composite. Many aspects of an object or a process enter into the idea of it; conception is a recognition inclusive of more than bare idea.

4. Volition (*chetana*), a group of many *dhammas*, fifty-eight, one analyst has said. These are mental faculties, and general forces beyond Feeling and Idea, volitions of all sorts, coordinated and bound together by the *force* of Volition; for example, the will to know, the will to do, the will for this and that.

5. Consciousness (*vijnana*), pure sensation; again, a single *dhamma*, but with a multitude of subdivisions. *Vijnana* is the general consciousness which, in some form, arises first from the operation of certain forces (*sankharas*, *samskaras*). Dispositions were themselves set in motion by ignorance. This *dhamma* comes of ignorance and may be dissolved only by wisdom—Buddha's wisdom. A consequence of ignorance, it is also in itself a cause; it is productive of potential individuality, or the mind-and-matter mould into which the individual-of-experience is run.

Vijnana is more than mere sensation; it might be called awareness. It is more than feeling; it is without feeling. It is beyond either mere idea or the conceiving faculty. It is a functional force, whose function may be better understood with reference to the wheel.

THE WHEEL. The human person, this self of many *skandhas*, is bound upon (within?) a wheel. We might say, with caution, that it is produced and held together by a process, or a movement in the likeness of a wheel. The wheel is a common Indian symbol of man's life, and the Buddha made particular use of it. By it the Hindu represents the reality of the Whole, whose parts are unreal. The dominant Vedantic Hindu theory is that of the reality of the One, or the oneness of Being, and the illusory character of the many; diversity, in this view, is unreal. On the other hand, with the Buddha, wholes or combinations are merely *names*; there is no reality in a name; what there is of reality inheres in the elements alone, which bear a name. He uses the figure of the wheel to account for the relations of the elements, to explain how all the *skandhas* come to be in the phenomenal human person and in the world of experience.

He called it a *Bhavachakra*, "Wheel of Existence," and a process of "dependent-simultaneous[!] arising." He hesitated to use the cause-and-effect category, although his simultaneity includes a measure of dependence. Buddha had no place for God as cause; he describes existence by enumerating its constituents and explaining them. Destiny for him is dissolution. But for the wheel: imagine twelve sectors in it, each with its portion of the hub, its share of spokes, its portion of the rim—thus it appears in Buddhist art; sometimes the wheel is clutched in the four claws of a tortoise, and embellished with intricacies of symbolism beyond Buddha's own conception. The sectors do not represent real causes; only relative moments. They are connected in the figure, not causally, but as simultaneous manifestations in time and space. The figure does not represent a process of evolution, wherein one element arises from another. Actually, when the first moment of life in the human

person appears, all other moments are immediately present. How, then, does this differ from the nihilist's fortuitous concurrence of particles, by which life is germinated? But we have said that Buddha was no nihilist; he has a constructive philosophy in explanation of man and of the universe. And there is at least this much causality in Buddha's scheme—he recognized the law of *karma*; although he distinguished carefully between “dependent arising,” and the current conception of *karma* as an efficient cause. To the Hindu, *karma* was the only cause; to Buddha, it was one of the many causes—or occasions.

The wheel ⁸ consists of:

1. Ignorance (*avijja*), the fundamental “cause.” There was a fateful moment of ignorance, which may repeat itself, whether in the history of mankind or in the individual man. When Buddha taught, he addressed immediate audiences, accounting for how things came to be at the given moment. Practically, ignorance meant to him the absence of true knowledge, more particularly the knowledge of the four Noble Truths. He was not so much expounding origins in the history of humanity as accounting for the state in which men found themselves. He was concerned, also, with the presence of ill-conceived ideas, such as the view that life is a fact and not a changing process. *Avijja* was the presence of false knowledge and the absence of true wisdom.

2. Forces, dispositions (*sankharas*), which arise from ignorance, or in conjunction therewith. *Karma*, for example, is one of the many forces set in motion by *avijja*. These forces predispose the production of all beings.

3. Consciousness (*vijnana*) is a product of the various *sankharas*. It represents the first moment of *life*, awareness and recognition. In illustration of the motion whereby predisposition became conscious, Buddha used the figure of the ocean tides; he held the theory that the level of the rivers, lakes, and ponds was affected by the ocean.

4. Name-and-form (*namarupa*), mind-and-matter, potential individuality, incipient self-consciousness, the embryonic sense data, and the tentative sensations.

5. Organs of sense (*ayatana*s), or “entrances.” There are *six*: eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin, and *mind* (there are *five* in the *skandha* known as *rūpa*), and six elements for which they serve as “entrances” (one cannot see, for example, what is not visible, nor hear what is inaudible).

6. Contact (*phassa*), the union of senses and their objects. For example, the eye, having seen what is visible, is joined in a union with its object—a fetter, as it were, is forged out of the contact. This is the moment in the wheel when coordination arises between the inner and the outer spheres, both of which have had a previous and corresponding development.

7. Sensation (*vedana*), the stimulation of the senses. This is the causal moment, or occasion, of desire.

8. Desire (*tanha*), burning thirst, and craving. This moment is the ground of explanation of the sorrow of the world.

9. Becoming (*upadana*), grasping, attachment, holding fast. Here the “grasping groups” or *skandhas* first arise, out of which the potential individual is produced. Here is formed the germ of personality.

10. Coming-to-be (*bhava*), the imminence of existence, the moment prior to full birth. The inner and the outer have had further simultaneous development: the individual-to-be-born, and, in corresponding measure, the process whence the birth arises.

11. Birth (*jati*), the moment of aggregation of all the *dhammas* which produce the human person. Now appears the individual-of-experience, more fully conscious of the world about him, of which he is a part. *Jati* is the interval from birth to death, during which the individual may acquire wisdom toward the cessation of the process, toward the breaking of the wheel. If, however, during *jati*, man does not acquire this wisdom fully, comprehending the truths and walking in the Way, death takes him once again to the beginning of the wheel.

12. Death (*jamarana*). Being born means in itself that one must die; the *skandhas* will be separated—but not permanently, if ignorance remains. Every *dhamma* tainted

with *avijja*, every relationship tainted with desire, keeps the wheel revolving. Through wisdom and the eradication of desire comes Release. Then one does not *die*; he gains nirvana. Otherwise he dies and continues transmigration. In practical illustration of the theory of simultaneous continuity, compare the manner of selection of a new Dalai Lama, or Living Buddha of Tibet. He is the one born at the exact moment that the Living Buddha died.

BUDDHA'S CONTRIBUTION. Buddha sought to free himself, and to induce other men to free themselves, from the wheel. To what would he and they be free? He did not say, beyond his undiscussed nirvana; they did not know. He had no philosophy of freedom, no theory of immortality. He spoke of calm; but he seemed not to desire freedom from motion, nor to desire cessation of motion. Practically, and not speculatively, he would have men find happiness in the midst of the world of sorrow, and calm in the midst of change. His method of escape was ethical. Man was the captain of his fate; his mind could find the necessary knowledge; his mind could "slay craving"; it could acquire wisdom "beyond the sphere of thinking." "Verily, Radha, the destruction of craving is *nibbana*." "Scatter consciousness . . . break it up." If his theory of nirvana seems negative and selfish, nevertheless, solitude and quiescence were to be earned by high intention and good conduct in the world. And in the world, men were counselled to seek purity of heart and the establishment of universal friendship through self-effacement and compassion.

Did Buddha teach new truths? He formulated many things anew; but the newness was essentially his person. He was an attractive, forceful personality; herein lay his success and popularity. Individuality was prominently recognized in his day among the higher classes; there was ample opportunity for leaders. He became the greatest person of his age. His following was personal, and grew steadily through the loyalty of his followers. He extended himself through his disciples (*chelas*). When he had won sixty, he sent them out—one by one, to wander lonely like the rhi-

noceros—to preach “the glorious doctrine” and the “pure and perfect life of holiness.” He was worthy of a following; during his whole mission, he was a consistently moral person, preaching and practicing love to mankind with unremitting fervor. His own sincerity and moral character were compelling. He was, if anything, greater than his teachings. Before his death at eighty, upwards of five hundred “brothers” were about him, many of them to be famous through their devotion. He did not mean to found an order on himself; but the order found in him its chief essential. When his end was near, he spoke these last words, “Behold now, brothers, decay is inherent in all component [or compounded, associated] things! Work out your own salvation with diligence.” But they worked upon the pattern which he furnished.

THE CULT. Buddha did not organize a separate, thoroughgoing cult; he did not found an order, as we know it; he instituted no symbolism; he left no Canon. A cult, however, was inevitable if the missionary program was to be successful, if the teachings were to permeate the masses, if the thinkers were to be supplied with a philosophy, if the faith were to hold its own amidst absorbent Hinduism. In the Master’s own time, the teachings spread throughout the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala (roughly, modern Bihar and Uttar Pradesh). In 259 B.C., Asoka was converted, and the Golden Age of Indian Buddhism began. The faith completely triumphed for a time through Asoka’s vast empire. He sent embassies on its behalf to Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, South India, and Ceylon. Although his messengers were not successful in the West, they laid firm foundations southward. What they established in southern India and Ceylon was essentially the Hinayana system, which the emperor had decreed in a general council. Further conquest northwards came rather indirectly, subsequent to Asoka. Greeks and Scythians penetrated the Northwest; hordes of Mongolians came in. Many of these accepted Buddhism. Kanishka, a Scythian king in northwest India in the first (perhaps the second) century A.D., became an active patron

of a type. Under his patronage, it extended into Kashmir, Khotan, Chinese Turkestan, and through the Indus-Ganges valley into the heart of the former Hinayana empire. His type was a curious assortment of Greek, Zoroastrian, Turanian, and Indian elements—a lax and tolerant form. He called a council at Jalandhar, in the Punjab, as Asoka had done at Patna, and attempted a reorganization of the cult. The Hinayanists sent official delegates, but it was apparent that the Great Vehicle, Mahayana, was forming.

HINAYANA. Let us follow more closely the variations in the two main schools. Hinayana has, in general, kept the teachings of the Buddha at their face value, with no desire to push inquiry into the realm of pure philosophy. A scholarly visitor to Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand has observed in these lands that “cosmic questions are still in theory taboo and not even in symbolic form are they answered.”⁹ The realistic Hinayanists are more concerned with the immediate situation and the original doctrine. Incidentally, devotion to the latter has tended to prevent the absorption from the former of many lower, non-Buddhistic elements of creed and practice. But Hinayana, intellectually, has remained conservative, holding no theory of God, worshiping no God, revering but not worshiping Buddha, emphasizing salvation for the few by self-effort, and exalting the ideal of the solitary *arhat* in his quest of nirvana.

MAHAYANA. Mahayana is in every sense a greater vehicle, having incorporated in unusual measure the beliefs and customs of the Hindus, Chinese, Tibetans, Koreans, and Japanese. It is thereby more manifestly a system of religion, with worship for all; divine personalities and many gods, inspired scriptures, salvation for the many; ministering *bodhisattvas* instead of solitary *arhats*; miracle, incarnation, *bhakti*, and transfer of merit; and Heaven (heavens) and Hell (hells) as places of ultimate abode. The earliest Mahayana impulses were Indian. The two schools contended quietly for centuries in India. Hinayana then withdrew entirely, and Indian Mahayana was merged with Hinduism. The surrender came mainly between A.D. 400

and 650. When the Chinese Fa-hsien made his memorable pilgrimage (A.D. 399–414) westward to the south of the Gobi desert, through Lop-nor to Khotan, across the high Pamirs to Swat, Taxila, Peshawar, and India, returning by sea by way of Ceylon and Java, he found both schools strong and prosperous. But when another Chinese, Hsuan Chwang, himself a Mahayanist, visited India (629–645 A.D.), he found both types already in decay. He found many who “had no faith in Buddha,” and some who “adored and sacrificed to *devas*” (Hindu “gods”).

Early divisions in the order and consequent diversities of thought seem to have arisen over monastic discipline and administration. The monks were uncertain about the rules; some were for stricter, some for easier, observance. In time doctrine was involved; there was no official Canon. There were sometimes bitter quarrels. The Elders, the Theravadins, formulated some decrees, rejecting what they deemed laxities in discipline. Some monks resented these decrees and, forming an assembly of their own, made their own rules. The majority, it seems, withdrew and formed the Mahasangha, Great Assembly, leaving the little society of Theravadin Elders to themselves. Out of these monastic groups the schools developed, first debating rules, and then discussing principles of dogma. The Buddha himself probably had no rules; he treated isolated cases. But we find in the later Discipline-basket an infinitude of rules: a monk might not wear shoes with many linings; blue, black, yellow, red, brown, or orange colored shoes; shoes made of wood or bamboo leaves; shoes ornamented with the skins of animals. Monks were puzzled to know what shoes they might wear. They could not dispense entirely with shoes; foot-coverings were required in the open, and “when ascending a couch.” Were shoes a form of mental discipline? Hardly; not according to the Buddha. The Elders had gone, with reference to many questions, far beyond the simple rules he had laid down. A priestly code was forming from a decalogue. Various prescriptions ultimately affected the monastic mind as the activities of the order multiplied. There were daily

prayers and readings, short tours for collecting alms, a noon-day meal, an afternoon siesta or a time of meditation, an evening chapel ritual, occasional days of abstinence, and periodic days of fasting and confession. There were problems relating to the nuns, their dwelling, their training, and their services. Monastic properties, lands, and endowments accumulated, bringing their peculiar problems of administration. There were questions relative to laymen, whether permanently or temporarily in attendance on the monasteries. There were intellectual problems. All this, as usual, was fruitful soil for sectarian development.

Underneath all the theories propounded at the time in India, there prevailed the conflict between realism and idealism. The thinker must define his general thought and attitude. There were Samkhyist, Yogist, Jainist, and Hinayana realists. There were Charvakas, who insisted that all they knew was food and eating; man is an "eater." The Lokayatas considered matter the ultimate reality. There were idealists, also: Brahmanical, Vedantic, and Mahayanist. Buddhism split on the hard rock of contrast. The Elders, whence Hinayana, figured on the reality of external objects. They insisted that "all things exist" (*sarvasti*) in the past, present, or future; that there is no such process as evolution; that consciousness is a continuing current; that matter is a collocation of the senses, which somehow obstructs the mind; that if a self exists, it does so only in name, unless it is something entirely inefficient; that the individual is an impermanent phenomenon. All this sounds similar to Buddha.

The Mahasanghikas, whence Mahayana, held many views at variance with the Elders. They insisted that the whole body is suffused with mind; thus scant room is left for matter in any realistic sense. This makes corporeality something mental. This view gained ground; Buddhist Idealism flourished. Mahayana tended to free itself of rigid monastic regulation, to become freethinking, even emotional, to indulge in sympathy and charity, to be more artistic, to believe in evolution and development. It challenged Hindu specu-

lation; in fact, may have induced it to formulate its various philosophies (*darsanas*). In time, it felt the force of both Vedantic idealism and of the newly developing Hindu theism.

INDIAN MAHAYANISTS. Mahayana produced in India a number of competent exponents:

1. Ashvaghosha (*ca.* A.D. 100) was the most conspicuous early idealist. He had been a Brahman opponent of Buddhism. Converted, he brought with him his Brahmanical philosophy. He began to talk of Thatness (*tathata*, from *tatha*, "thus or so"), a condition without attributes of any sort, whether existence, nonexistence, or any other. Thatness was to him the totality beyond qualification, designation, individuality, or plurality. Apply this to the concept of the soul. The soul or self is "thatness" involved in the entanglements of *samsara*, the "world." It imagines itself something individual; but, if memory could only be suppressed, it is aware of its real, absolute, unconditioned quality. Memory entangles it; it needs enlightenment, or freedom from memory. It is the victim of ignorance; it stands in need of wisdom. This is both Buddhist and Vedantic, possibly. Ashvaghosha held, not that "all things exist," but that all things from eternity abide in nirvana, and that their *appearance* is somehow due to ignorance. Knowledge, or wisdom, restores things to their original bliss, Buddha-body, absolute, or void—whatever nirvana was. His terms are Buddhist; his mind is Brahman. After him came Nagarjuna, Asanga, and Vasubandhu, to emphasize emptiness, or the reality of knowledge, and so on.

2. Nagarjuna (second century A.D.) seemed a nihilist (a Shunyavadin, from *shunya*, "empty"). He advanced the theory that nothing exists; that a thing has no existence or essence of its own; that what appears to exist comes from nowhere, goes nowhere; that process and progress cannot be affirmed; and that nirvana, to which men should aspire, is the absence of the essence of phenomena. Would he make the *dhammas*, Buddha's only realities, altogether unreal? Does he reduce nirvana to an utter void? Not ex-

actly, but near it. He desires to emphasize wisdom and enlightenment. Existence is a continuous, imaginary procession of unreal *dhammas*; ignorance alone gives them reality. Knowledge of their fundamental unreality will stop their flow.

3. Asanga and Vasubandhu (*ca.* A.D. 400) were brothers, with similar points of view. Asanga sought to reduce all phenomena to mental states, to mental reality. He said that the mind revealed several types of consciousness: at the base, a receptacle consciousness, which contains all the seeds of phenomena; and various types arising in connection with the development of the various seeds. These seeds germinate through ignorance; there then appear unrest, the delusion of subject and object, and so on. Wisdom (*vijnana*, "knowledge," whence *Vijnanavada*, the designation of his school) is the cure for delusion, unrest, and the like. True knowledge is that *nothing exists but mind*. Such wisdom transforms consciousness into enlightenment, and insures the knower's entrance to nirvana. Asanga is closer than Nagarjuna to Hinduism; he is less tolerant than he to void; he lays more stress on knowledge.

It was inevitable that Mahayana in India should have been absorbed eventually into Hinduism. It had developed as religion, distinct from speculation; the laymen and many of the monks had deified the Buddha, and a full-fledged ritual had been developed. Hinduism finally incorporated the Buddha of Mahayana as an *avatara*, "descent," of Vishnu.

BUDDHIST MISSIONS. Fortunately for Buddhism, especially Mahayana, the door had long been open into China. Hinayana entered first, perhaps as early as the second century B.C. Mahayana followed, with incomparable success. The traditional date for the arrival of Buddhism in China is about A.D. 65., at which time the Emperor Ming-ti is said to have sent emissaries to India to bring him Buddhist teachers for his court at Lohyang in western Honan. It is now believed that this account of the Emperor's dream was invented around A.D. 200 as a way of gaining authority for

the new faith among the Chinese people.¹⁰ Buddhism probably reached China around the beginning of the first century A.D., or even earlier. When monks and nuns began to be recruited from the Chinese, the faith was gradually established. It provided, especially as Mahayana, something of religious warmth instead of the cold, formal piety of China. Confucianism had become official, formal, and burdensome. Degenerate rulers had incurred the resentment of their subjects; with hatred toward the rulers went disregard of the state religion. Some rulers may actually have encouraged as a policy of state the introduction of a new religion. Taoism, also, was at low ebb. It had become a jumble of magical rites administered by ignorant and selfish priests, while the people languished. Thoughtful men, especially, were in revolt against Confucian rigor and Taoist superstition. In North China a sect of "Purists" had arisen, advocating the renovation of religion and the simple life of virtue and reason. When the Purists and the Buddhists eventually met, both recognized that they had many things in common. Many Purists became Buddhists, devoting their religious zeal and their literary skill to their new-found doctrine. Many of the common people everywhere gave the first Indian monks a kindly welcome, and after the Chinese order was established, the new faith gained favor rapidly. It is said that by A.D. 381, nine-tenths of northwestern China was Buddhist.

By the fifth century A.D., Buddhism was flourishing in South China, also. By A.D. 500 hundreds of Buddhist writings had been translated into Chinese. In 518, the first Chinese edition of the *Three Baskets* was collected. In 500, we may say, Buddhism was indigenous to China. In India, the Golden Age of Hinduism had dawned; in China the New Era of Mahayana was begun. Meanwhile, Hinayana had become indigenous to Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. Against the background of the wide world, the ageless drama of religious movements was in progress.

While Hinayana entered China early, this form was out of harmony with the Chinese disposition. Notice the major

contents of the earliest Buddhist scriptures which reached China, the Hinayana *Sutras of the Forty-two Sections*: their ideal is the *arhat* (the Chinese *lohan*), who is the antithesis of the Confucian "sage or superior man" (although much like the mystical Taoist man of virtue and reason); they expound the dogma of the sanctity of all life (China has never stressed a doctrine of noninjury, as India has done); they hold the theory of *karma* and rebirth, contrary to any major Chinese theory of human life; and they emphasize the practical good of meditation, in contrast with Chinese practical activity. Their ideal of asceticism was far more vivid and compelling than any such Chinese ideal. Again, the *arhat* ideal struck at the very roots, not only of the Chinese family, but also of the theory and practice of filial piety. Only impossibly extreme accommodation could reconcile such divergent attitudes toward life and the world. Meanwhile Indian monks took up their residence in monasteries, and the Chinese grew accustomed to them.

Mahayana was more accommodating. Its first literary appearance was the *Diamond Cutter*, translated by the Indian Kumarajiva, in the fourth century. It gave the faith a liberal character. Within a century came translations of the scriptures of the Pure Land, the *Lotus of the Good Law*, and Ashvaghosha's *Awakening of Faith*; and the purely Chinese *Sutra of Brahma's Net*—all Mahayanist, unless we call the Pure Land scriptures more or less Mahayanist; they ignore the doctrine of vacuity, and cancel the long ages of *bodhisattva*-discipline and rebirth; they present a God able to save men from the one round of existence. With a full panoply of scriptures of its own and a full regiment of its own monks, Chinese Buddhism was equipped for full independence; it set about perpetuating liberal Mahayana, and leavening the masses.

The Chinese monks, for the most part, have observed the rules of the Indian Order, as in the *Patimokkha*, the "moral code" for monks and nuns, translated in the third century. But their great ideal has been the *bodhisattva* (*bodisat*, for short; in Chinese, *p'u-sa*), who outranks the

arhat. It is embodied in the *Lotus* and *Brahma's Net*, especially, in association with doctrines of vicarious suffering, Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven. Mahayana has made some use of Chinese notions and devices, especially magic, divination, and *feng-shui* ("wind-and-water"). Pagodas have been built where they might affect the weather. Monasteries have often been supported because they are supposed to dominate *feng-shui*. Appropriating fully the virtue of filial piety, one of the most important functions of Chinese Buddhism has been the funeral ceremony. This has won the favor of the masses. The idealism of Ashvaghosha, Nagarjuna, and Asanga has been mainly for the monks' consumption. Among the common people, emphasis has been laid upon "heart-doctrine," and a form of *bhakti*, with stress more upon the ethical than upon the pantheistic. The Buddha has been presented more as an influence in men's hearts than as a universal Spirit. For man's world-weariness Buddha is the comfort. In some sects, he is God, with other divine beings in his company, particularly the popular Kwanyin, Goddess of Mercy. A corollary of Buddha's divinity declares that man, also, may become divine.

CHINESE MAHAYANA: THE PURE LAND SCHOOL. Chinese Mahayana has emphasized discipline and morality, especially for the monks, and for all, faith and meditation above works. One of the earliest sects taking definite form was the Pure Land (*Ching-t'u*) school of faith, the flower of Mahayana. It was established before A.D. 400 by a Taoist convert, Hui-yüan. The former Taoist could accept much of the idealistic content, even the moderate nihilism of Nagarjuna (*Lung-shu*). He accepted Buddha's example of the postponement of nirvana for the sake of compassionate service and agreed to the *boddhisattva*-ideal. He reconciled the inconsistent theories of the *boddhisattva* and nirvana by modifying both considerably. He posited a Western Paradise, where Amitabha, the Eternal Buddha, dwells; to which all men may go who have sufficient faith in Amitabha. Amitabha had transformed nirvana; in a previ-

ous birth, when he was merely a monk, he had vowed to do this, for the sake of salvation for all mankind. He set in the stream of life a veritable "Ark of Release," which any man could board with devotion (*bhakti*). The requirements of Pure Land salvation were faith in Amitabha, prayers to him, and calling on his name. The prayer formula is *Namo Omi-to-fu*, "In the Name of Amitabha." To utter the Name, with faith, wins remission of one's sins. If man's faith, devotion, and knowledge should not avail, Amitabha is all-powerful and may be relied on. How many adherents of this school there are is difficult to calculate; it has been, however, a leading sect for fifteen centuries. The Pure Land is attractive, and Amitabha's mercy full of comfort and assurance.

THE SCHOOL OF MEDITATION. The Ch'an sect (the Indian *dhyana*, "contemplation") is another influential body. It has cultivated the experience of immediate insight. In this it follows Buddha, who experienced at the Bo tree *insight*, vision, and enlightenment. The sect was founded by a certain Bodhidharma, unknown in India, who claimed to be the twenty-eighth direct descendant and successor of the Buddha. According to the Chinese story, he came from South India, about A.D. 525, to Nanking by way of Canton. Meditation was then essentially a new idea and practice in South China, although Taoists were familiar with it. Bodhidharma's school appealed especially, but not exclusively, to Taoists. On the patriarch's arrival in Nanking, the Emperor Wu-ti, a Buddhist, who must have held a different type of faith, summoned him to court. Bodhidharma told him bluntly that benefactions, or other forms of works, were without merit; that readings, prayers, repetition of the Name, asceticism, all were vain. He had no use for scriptures, original or in translation. His objective was the realization of the Buddha-nature in man's heart; this is man's salvation. Teaching had some value; it might give insight and prepare the way for vision and enlightenment. Instruction was indispensable; otherwise the doctrines of the school could not be spread; but the ideal program was the trans-

mission of thought by means of thought; and beatific vision, thus induced, led to saving wisdom. Bodhidharma gave instruction, though he was wont to kick at those who came with idle questions. He pointed out that Buddha wrote no book, organized no cult, instituted no ritual; that what happened underneath the Bo tree was psychical and instantaneous. This gave weight to meditation. However, he was inclined to minimize some aspects of the Buddha—the Eight-fold Path, for instance, which gives more than transient value to good conduct. The school preserves a legend which supports its view: Buddha was once seated with his monks on the Peak-of-the-Vulture in the Ganges River valley, when a heavenly king came, offering him a golden lotus-flower and requesting him to give instruction in the Law. The Buddha, Blessed One, took the flower, held it in his hand, gazed mystically, and said nothing. No one in the party, except Kassapa, comprehended; he smiled with understanding of the Master's meaning. Then the Buddha said to him, "I have the wonderful thought of nirvana, the eye of the good Law, which I now give to you." This "thought," ineffable treasure, according to the school, came down to Bodhidharma through Kassapa, Ananda, Ashvaghosha, Nagarjuna, and others. With Bodhidharma, the ideal of "Thatness" and "Vacuity" passed into China. The Emperor could not understand the hidden teaching, so the patriarch, leaving Nanking, sat for nine years with his face to the wall, in a temple in Lohyang.

The Ch'an school found the Buddha-nature not only in man's heart but everywhere; Buddha is the All. The aim was the unity of nature and human nature through the Buddha-nature. This was a peculiar accommodation of realistic pantheism (somewhat akin to Indian Vedanta, but lacking the Vedantic God) to Chinese monism and the prevailing theory of the essential unity of man and nature. Exponents of this view promised that by the "hidden teaching" man might purify his mind alike from desire and from the thought of self; that man might find health of mind and body; and that, in the end, he might enjoy endlessly

the presence of the Buddha. This was the consummation of the Buddha-nature.

COMPREHENSIVE T' IEN-T' AI. The T'ien-T'ai, a third important sect, grew out of and away from the meditation school. The title came not from any form of doctrine, but from the monastery which the founder, Chih-K'ai (or Chih-I), built about A.D. 575 near Hang-chow in Chekiang. A monk of the meditation sect, he came to emphasize the study of the scriptures as a means to knowledge and an aid to faith. He took a comprehensive view of Buddhism as religion and philosophy and impressed men with the fact that the faith is larger than any of its schools. No one sect was custodian of the way of salvation; the sects should be combined, for the sake of a total view and program. He approved of scripture, discipline (for the monks, especially), ceremonial, and the ecstasy of beatific vision. He took account of the enormous variety of sacred writings, and the varying capacities of men. He evolved the theory that Buddha taught various truths at different times to various individuals; that he taught the absolute truth, during three weeks after the Enlightenment, to hosts of heavenly beings and *bodddhisattvas*; that, during the next twelve years, he taught plain Hinayana and the *arhat* ideal to his earthly disciples; that, for eight years following, he taught them Mahayana and the *bodddhisattva* ideal; that for twenty-two years thereafter he labored to reconcile the Hinayana and the Mahayana; and that, at the last, he taught the doctrines of the *Lotus of the Good Law*. The *Lotus* is peculiarly the scripture of the T'ien-T'ai school.

Chih-K'ai was also a philosopher. Accepting the doctrine of vacuity of Nagarjuna, he sought to make it spiritual and less nihilistic. He blended the idealism of Ashvaghosha's *Awakening of Faith* with the teaching of devotion of the *Lotus*. He accepted the historical Gotama Sakya-muni, but made him the Buddha-embodiment of universal Reality. Gotama was the concrete human manifestation of truth which otherwise is mere name and void. By a theory of three levels of truth, Chih-K'ai evolved a gospel for every

man: for the simple-minded living among material things which they hold real; for the higher-minded who, while living above the level of possessions, are yet confused about Reality; and for those who, professing to live far above the confusion of things and ideas, mistakenly put their trust solely in meditation. His creed amalgamated the three chief ways of Mahayana—knowledge, faith, and insight. The school promoted a remarkable spirit of tolerance and gave great impetus to learning. Nevertheless, it has continued as a sect, with its own scriptures, monks, and monasteries. A learned and able monk of this order, T'ai-Hsü, visited America some years ago, in advocacy of T'ien-T'ai as the universal Way. His visit aided the just cause of tolerance and understanding.

FULL MAHAYANA. The theology of Chinese Buddhism should be better understood. We have so far dealt mainly with the Buddha. All sects recognize him, but with variations. He is at times an ample figure seated serenely on a lotus. At other times, he is the gaunt ascetic (in a mural design, or on a *kakemono*); otherwise, elsewhere, he reclines in nirvana. These figures are historical. He is likewise deified, the incarnation of the Law or of the Order. There are other celestial Buddhas, as Amitabha (Omito-fu) the compassionate Father and Savior dwelling in the Pure Land or Western Paradise, the God of boundless light. There is Yo-shih-fu, the healing deity, invoked by many in times of illness; Vairochana, the Law incarnate; Lochana, the incarnation of the Order. These figures, each with its own posture and symbol, are well known to their devotees.

There are also divine *bodisats*, or *p'u-sas*, especially Kwanyin, and Maitreya, or Mi-lo-fu. Kwanyin is possibly the most popular deity in China. She is "Goddess of Mercy." Whence came she? Obviously such a power is not entirely Chinese in origin. She seems the female counterpart of an Indian god of mercy, Avalokita (Avalokitesvara), who long ago heard the cry of man's distress and "bent low" to his assistance. At times she is connected with Amitabha, even as his incarnation. In one account, Ami-

tabha sat on the golden lotus in his Pure Land paradise, looking over the world of men blinded by their evil passions, swaying as if drunk with self and groping in the darkness. He had compassion on them (he had vowed compassion) and faith in them; so he sent them aid. That women, also, might be aided, who were worse off than men, he was born a woman. He appeared on earth as Kwanyin. Her very name means "one who hearkens unto prayer." An ancient story (seventh century B.C.) may indicate something of her Chinese origin: there was a maiden who refused to marry, fled her home, and became a nun. Her father was enraged and sought to burn the convent. Her prayers brought rain which quenched the flames. Later, the father captured her and took her home to marry or to die. Choosing death, she was tortured and strangled. Her body was thrown to the beasts, but carried off by a god in the form of a tiger. Her spirit took up its residence on an island off the coast of Chekiang, where its influence is available for men and women anywhere in need.

Kwanyin has shrines and temples of her own. Her likenesses are everywhere. She is everywhere implored. She is merciful and answers men in the very voice of Heaven. She is a prophetess and will reveal the future. Prayers are offered her, especially in times of crisis, including prayers for rain. She is worshiped regularly on the first and fifteenth of every month. She is a Madonna, with womanly grace and motherly tenderness. Young brides receive from their parents her image, with a censer and a pair of candlesticks. She fills among the Buddhists something of the place the Virgin Mary holds with Roman Catholic Christians, symbolizing the motherhood of God. Sometimes she is portrayed with a child in her arms. The place she holds might be illustrated by a lovely porcelain image of her in a Yale collection. It represents a comely maiden chastely clad in an ample, loose-fitting, figure-covered robe, which falls gracefully about her as she sits, serenely meditative, on a lotus-covered hilltop. On her topknot, on a lotus, sits a Buddha-image, underneath a veil, which, caught mantilla-

like, is draped on both her shoulders and falls full-length behind her. In niches in the rocks about her are many other Buddha-images. Jeweled pendants are suspended from her ears; she holds a tasseled rosary in her hands; and in the center of her placid forehead is the shining jewel of devotion.

Maitreya, or Mi-lo-fu, is the Future Buddha, dwelling in the Western Paradise, waiting to visit earth in the next great crisis, as another incarnation of the Buddha. He is an analogue of the Old Testament Messiah, a reflection of the Hindu *avatara*, and parallel with the Muslim *mahdi*. He shares with Kwanyin the power of revelation; the Indian Asanga, for example, claimed special revelations from him. He was Indian before he joined the Chinese pantheon, always, however, the coming savior. Until he comes, he guides his chosen through the deepening gloom; he symbolizes hope. The Laughing Buddha seems, at times, to be his counterpart; he is a jolly comforter. The image of this Buddha, with wrinkled fat paunch and a jovial countenance, often is found sitting at the temple entrance gate. His head is shaven, his legs crossed comfortably, with the upper part of his body carelessly exposed in a loosely fitting mantle. In his right hand resting on his lap he holds a lotus or a rosary; a bag of lucky gifts hangs from the left. If he does not carry on the tradition of the rotund, genial Hindu *babu*, he represents, at least, the well-fed, optimistic Chinese.

There is a full array of superhuman powers. Failing to compete with ultimate success in India, Buddhism took its congeries of gods and powers to China. Save for Taoism and some expressions of nature worship it met there, it found an open field, and has since pre-empted it. All told, along with Buddhas and *bodddhisattvas*, there are many tutelary deities, such as *devas*, heavenly kings, and angels; there are the "eighteen *lohan*" (legendary beings fitted into historical theology), and the "five hundred *lohan*" (seen in some larger temples); there are patriarchs, of whom Tamo or Bodhidharma is the chief; and there are saints, including

some of Gotama's first disciples (Kassapa, Ananda, and others).

Buddhism, especially Mahayana, became Chinese in China. It has shared the spirit and practice of toleration and the theory that human nature was originally good. Many of its moral teachings conformed with those of China; others were adapted to the situation. But it emphasized consistently the idea that there is an insight and a wisdom which transcend morality. Its Order has been offered as a refuge; it is a way of salvation. It has been a religious way for many pilgrims. Families of all classes, especially those in straitened circumstances, have dedicated children to the monasteries, while adults, for various reasons, have entered orders. Many monasteries are universities, with libraries and curricula of studies, especially in Buddhist Law and Discipline. What the future holds for the faith is problematical, but time can hardly make all "its ancient good uncouth."

BUDDHISM IN JAPAN. We must now look further into Buddhism in Japan, whither it went by extension from China. About A.D. 522, while the Indian patriarch Bodhidharma was finding footing in South China, a northern Chinese monk enshrined a Buddha-image in Yamato. About thirty years later, a Korean chieftain, a Buddhist convert, made a formal attempt to introduce his new faith into Japan. He sent an embassy to the chief of the Yamato-men, bearing a bronze-gold Buddha-image (probably Amitabha), some Buddhist writings, and a letter announcing the nature and notable achievements of the faith. The emperor was pleased to receive the image, but dubious about the foreign faith. While a civil official dared suggest it would be well for Japan to profit by Chinese and Korean culture, the emperor, following the counsel of his warriors, rejected the Korean embassy. Soon afterwards, a plague broke out, which was attributed to the presence of the image. So they threw the image into a canal, hoping to appease the evident anger of the *kami*.

Twenty years later, the Koreans sent another embassy,

including monks, a nun, an image-maker, and a temple-architect, and bearing further scriptures. This time they won the support of the influential Soga family of the Yamato tribe, and were permitted to build a temple near Osaka and to institute the order. When a pestilence again broke out, soon afterwards, it was taken, not as a sign of the *kami's* wrath, but Buddha's warning of what might follow, if his faith were not heartily accepted. Whatever the incidents and omens, the faith was planted among the Japanese before A.D. 600. Its concomitants of continental culture may have weighed more with them than its essence. The new faith proved to be the means of breaking through the isolation of the islands, and to be a welcome ingredient of the national spirit. It united with Shinto and became indigenous. A royal patron, Prince-regent Shotoku, nephew of the young empress, espoused the cause and gave it the prestige of imperial favor. He established a center at Horyuji, with a temple, monastery, study-hall, poorhouse, hospital, and dispensary. From this substantial base, the order grew, and as it grew it permeated gradually the whole national life.

The Buddhist movement in Japan, compared with its Chinese antecedents, is more distinct, concentrated, and intelligible. It entered by one door instead of many as in China; and at a time which can be reconstructed from sound sources. Buddhism became, to a marked degree, Chinese in China; the Japanese became more nearly converts. In China the monk alone remained distinctive, while the layman included the Buddha-way in his three religions. In Japan the layman has been more exclusively a Buddhist, subject only to the higher claim of national loyalty. Buddhism reproduced in Japan the major forms it had acquired in China, but more concretely, by reason of the long Chinese experience. Its major scripture has been, from the first, the *Lotus*, with its simple but splendid ideal of the *boddhisattva*, a Gospel within the layman's comprehension.

THE MAJOR SECTS. Japanese Buddhism may be treated as six major sects, showing its diversity, resourcefulness,

and universal qualities. It has been otherworldly and yet political; philosophical, yet practical; sectarian, yet dominated by a fundamental unity. The six great bodies enroll more than forty million members, according to the most recent statistics, with 71,300 temples, 7,700 churches, 56,000 temple heads and 178,000 other priests.¹¹ The "True Word," and the "*true* Pure Land" sects comprise three fifths of the grand total. The six originated at various times from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Before them, there were only schools of thought, especially among the monks, with various rituals. Some were reminiscent of Hinayana, some, of the stronger Mahayana. There were items of philosophy from Ashvaghosha, Nagarjuna, and Asanga. After the ninth century, well-defined sects maintained themselves within the order.

Tendai (the Chinese T'ien-T'ai) was founded by a noble, Saicho, later known as Dengyo Daishi (i.e., Priest Dengyo). It has a membership today of over two million. Careful lists are kept, for many lay memberships are inherited. Saicho, as a youth, had become acquainted with the *Lotus*. At nineteen, he withdrew from participation in affairs of state at Nara and retired to a hermitage on Hiei Mountain, near Kyoto. Many came to get his counsel in religion. In 788, he built a temple at the hermitage. In 794, when Kyoto became the capital, he became conspicuous as chaplain of the inauguration ceremony. Later, the Emperor sent him about preaching the *Lotus* doctrines. In 804, Saicho, having realized how little he knew of Tendai doctrines, and desiring further commission for his ministry, visited the mother monastery on T'ien-T'ai Mount, in China. At the completion of a course of study in doctrine and administration, he was ordained as Dengyo Daishi. Returning to Japan, he founded the Tendai sect at Hiei Mountain and, later, commissioned other priests to spread the faith.

While Dengyo did not use the exact language of the mother sect or confine himself to the specific doctrines of its founder, Chih-K'ai, he advocated in general the same

unifying Gospel of reason, grace, and beatific vision. He taught:

1. That the gist of Buddhism is to be found in the *Lotus of the Good Law*, which shows that the Buddha-nature rests in all men, that the mind of any individual represents the whole Reality, and that all minds are really One Mind;
2. That there are three primary truths in one, whereby Buddha is body, spirit, and reason; whereby all the Buddhas, although indistinguishable, are one inclusive Reality;
3. That the Buddha (Gotama) taught in periods, progressively, to prepare his hearers ultimately for the perfect idealism of Tendai; and
4. That Amida (the Chinese Amitabha) is the supreme object of man's devotion; the universal love-principle represented by Kwannon (the Chinese Kwanyin) and other *bosatsus* (*bodhisattvas*) and the One, into which every individual merges at last in the Eternal Peace.

Shingon, the "True Word" sect, has much the same philosophy as Tendai, but has offered the common man a more acceptable religion. It is more popular than Tendai, having over three million members today. The founder, Kukai, or Kobo Daishi, was one of the great minds of Japan. He began his career by comparative studies of Shinto, Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, and early conceived the idea that religion, to be universal, must be based on universal truths. He thought there might be some True Word, through which universal religion might be understood and followed. Committed to Mahayana, and hearing of the True Word which had been brought from India to China in A.D. 720 (a similar teaching having been brought to Japan by a Chinese monk in 736), he crossed to China in 806, to study the tenets of the Shingon at Chang-an. At the end of three years he was ordained. Returning home, he established the new sect, with headquarters on Koya Mountain. He wrought (1) a new order out of a philosophy, (2) a God-idea, (3) secret formulas, and (4) a compromise with Shinto.

1. He taught a form of idealism, or pantheism, in the style of the Indian idealist—Nagarjuna and others. But he felt that common men could not be much affected by philosophy; he reserved this for the learned. By it he is able, ultimately, to identify all diversities in One, as Dengyo of Tendai had done.

2. His God was Vairochana, the Great Sun (in Japanese, *Dainichi*), the body of the universe, the Universal Buddha. He accounted for the earthly Gotama, Sakyamuni, as one of many manifestations of *Dainichi*, with all the Buddhas and *bodddhisattvas*. He recognized the various Buddhas, but only as they are included in the Universal. Dengyo had used the concept of Amida (Amitabha) to this same end.

3. He emphasized a "secret," a "true word," which he claimed to have received from the Universal Buddha. The legend about it goes back to Sakyamuni, who taught plain truth during most of his life, but toward the last evolved a secret for those fitted to receive it. One of his disciples got it. Centuries later, Nagarjuna, while in a Yoga trance, received it. Kobo Daishi got it. He had, therefore, two types of teaching; one for the plain man, another for the learned; and both from Gotama. Whereas the usual doctrines of the earthly Buddha are transmitted by tradition and interpretation, the "secret" is intuitive, immediate. "Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son." It can be induced by Yoga, and learned while in a trance. If one knows the True Word, he realizes the hidden unity of all things in the Universal Buddha and attains the true enlightenment. For the common man an elaborate ritual was instituted, with allegory and symbols; but since the ritual and the True Word were in the keeping of the Order, the notion grew that to realize the full benefits of ritual, one should know the True Word. Magic thus crept into the ceremonial. Other words (e.g., the mysterious syllables *abiraukein*) became efficacious. Salvation might be gained by thought, formulas, and Yoga.

4. Kobo identified, further than any predecessor had

done, the great Shinto *kami* and the Buddhas, making a dogma of this identity. Thus arose Ryobu, or "Two-edged" Shinto. It united Nature and the Buddha-nature, Amaterasu and Dainichi. It was Kobo's aim to conserve the values of Shinto nature-worship under the efficacy of Shingon, but his compromise was not successful. Shintoists continued to hold communion with Nature in her visible forms. Both Shingon and Tendai were weakening when the Great Awakening came in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Jodo, the "Pure Land" sect, is to a degree an extension of Tendai. It was founded in 1175 by Genku, or Honen Shonin (*shonin*, "saint"), who was first a pupil in the Tendai monastery on Mount Hiei. It has today about three million members. Genku studied the *Lotus* and other scriptures faithfully, and practiced Yoga without finding the salvation he sought. But once he came upon a passage from a Chinese commentator, to the effect that if one would "only repeat the name of Amitabha [*Amida*] with all his heart . . . and never cease the repetition for a moment," he would find the salvation, which "is in accordance with the vow of Amitabha."¹² These words determined his career. Left hungry by the "rich butter of Tendai" and the "honey of Shingon," he found content in *Namu Amida Butsu* (*Nembutsu*), "Hail, Amida." His creed was: Have faith in Amida, and Amida's grace will save you. There was a tinge of "works"; the repetition of the Name was works. But Honen avoided the reduction to the simple repetition of the Name, which had happened in the Pure Land sect's career in China. Salvation came by man's faith and the grace of God; if there is faith, there is no need of works.

Shin, the "true Pure Land" sect, developed from Jodo. It was founded by Shinran Shonin, the greatest disciple of Honen Shonin, and became immensely popular. It has a membership today of more than fourteen million. Shinran went beyond the teaching of his master, holding that no merit was needed on man's part, except gratitude for the salvation which Amida's grace afforded. This is a logical conclusion of a theory of salvation by faith without works; it

makes even the repetition of the Name unnecessary. Shinran discovered various works unnecessary, including the usual monastic work of celibacy. He learned in a vision that monks might marry; he married in demonstration of the truth. Faith was his one essential; any person could thereby be saved. Shin advocates the worship of a personal God, Amida. It believes in personal immortality; such is the *true* Pure Land conception. It misses wholly the vague allurements of nirvana; it personifies the Universal. And Honen insisted that these were the true teachings of the Buddha of the Bo tree. As one might expect, without reference solely to numbers, Shinshu (the Shin sect) is the leading Buddhist body in Japan.

Zen (the Chinese Ch'an, the Indian Dhyana), the Meditation sect, was introduced soon after the Pure Land sects were founded, but Zen as a form of thought had long been current. Bodhidharma (Tamo, in China; Daruma, in Japan) had long been known. There were several founders of the sect: Eisai, in 1191 (in Kyoto); Do-gen, in 1236; and Yin Yuen, a Chinese monk, in 1654. The branches have a combined membership today of nearly ten million. Zen has more temples than any other sect; it has more nuns (naturally, the *true* Pure Land sect, with its advocacy of marriage, would have few nuns!); next to Shin, it has the largest membership of monks. In recent years Zen Buddhism has aroused considerable interest in the Western world.

Zen also traces its origin from the Buddha. Recall, if you will, the incident of the heavenly king, the golden lotus, and the Buddha on the Vulture Peak: the Buddha merely meditated, and said nothing; he could not teach the law by words or acts; the Absolute is above all distinctions and contrasts, such as one may draw in earthly figures; it cannot be affirmed, nor yet denied; it is a matter of experience. Zen lays its stress upon experience, upon the psychological character of religion; religion is a matter of the mind. A story might illustrate the theory: One day a Samurai, or warrior layman, visited a priest of Zen to ask about Heaven and Hell, only to be answered calmly by a vituperation.

The warrior, angered, drew his sword to slay the priest, but paused, as the priest—from a safe distance—spoke further, “Did you ask about Hell? I see Hell in your face and eyes; your mind is Hell.” The warrior relaxed, put up his sword, and sat down together with the priest in peace. Then said the priest, “Now, your mind is Heaven.” The warrior was content to learn thus the hidden truth that a man makes “of his own mind a heaven or hell.” Zen is full of whims and paradoxes, of harsh methods to shock unthinking men from religious indifference, of gentle ways to satisfy serious, puzzled minds. It purports to aid men, yet tells them no one else can really help them; they must find their own enlightenment. It provides a setting and a secret, but discounts the means to realize the secret from the setting. There are books, images, formulas, and instruction; but they are of slight avail. Even thought is not effective. Books may be read, if in the proper spirit. One may study the example of great masters, may meditate on Buddha and his Bo tree experience. These acts may help create the setting; but the ultimate is knowledge of the Buddha within one’s own nature by intuition.

And yet method has its value, if its setting be correct. As in Shingon, with its quest of the True Word, so also with Zen, something of Yoga practice is employed. Zen calls it *zazen*, sitting in proper posture, in calm meditation, with the breathing regulated, intent on concentration. Through thought one comes to realize that thought is ultimately unavailing. One must consciously dismiss thought from his mind. Compare the Indian suggestion for concentration—half humorously given, possibly—the shaking of a pan of sand for a whole hour, without thinking “elephant.” Zen proposes problems, for the sake of demonstrating that solutions do not come at last by thinking. Thought is relative and therefore irrelevant; one must not even think “the Buddha.” Yet, paradoxically, Zen seems not to aim at world-renunciation, nor yet at the merging of the self and the Buddha-self. Let further details of *zazen* illustrate the method; *zazen* is the practice of Zen.

A quiet place, preferably a room, is indispensable. Use a thick cushion; keep wind and smoke from coming in upon you; keep out rain and dew. Have a place neither too bright by day nor too dark by night, warm in winter, cool in summer, and always immaculately clean. As you sit, give up such ideas as heat, light, will, and consciousness. Banish thoughts of recollection, perception, and contemplation. Make no distinctions between right and wrong. Have no desire, even to become a Buddha. Be eager, as though you were withdrawing your head from flames; yet become even as a dead tree. Do not doze. There is no need of burning incense, telling beads, reciting scriptures, making confession, or of calling on the name of Buddha. Only sit in perfect meditation, until you win enlightenment.

There are two ways of sitting (according to one Zen monastery book): full cross-legged, and half cross-legged. In the former position, the right foot rests, sole upward, on the left thigh; the left foot, sole upward, on the right thigh. Your clothes are well arranged, but loosely tied about you. Your right hand rests, with palm upturned, on the sole of your left foot; the left hand, upturned, in the palm of the right. Both hands are kept close to the body in front of the navel, the thumbs touching at their tips. You keep your body bolt upright; the head erect, facing evenly forward. The tongue is held against the upper gums. Breathing is done through the nostrils. Lips and teeth are tightly pressed together. The eyes are kept moderately opened. One must, of course, find the right position; so you sway about, at first, breathing a few times through the open mouth. Once in the proper posture, however, you begin the process of mental elimination and of concentration upon emptiness. When you are ready to rise from contemplation, having made, perhaps, some progress toward enlightenment, place your hands upon your knees; move your body about, with gradually accelerating motion, breathing again, meanwhile, through the open mouth. Then, extend your arms to the ground; rise, stand, and walk about the room, keeping your right side to the left wall—you were gazing,

probably, at a blank wall. You turn to the right to emerge again into the world of common sense and things, purged somewhat of guilt, and fitter for the world. A private room is not essential; one may practice *zazen* in the temple, under a tree, among the tombs, or "on the dewy earth." One need not be alone; several may meditate together, if they do not sit face to face; there is some virtue in facing one's companion's back.

NICHIREN BUDDHISM. This sect was founded in the thirteenth century by the monk whose name it bears.¹³ It has today over four million members. It was, at first, a restoration movement; the founder, thinking he had discovered original Buddhism, sought to restore it in Japan; but he knew only the *Lotus* Gospel. He had been a disciple of Shingon and had studied Tendai. He had visited all the great temples and had studied at the national Shinto shrine at Ise. A crisis came in the year 1253, when the young priest had ascended Kurozumi Mountain. There on a peak, facing the morning sun, he was inspired to cry out the simple salutation, "Hail, mysterious Law of the *Lotus*." This was his proclamation of the discovery of the true Law. He took the name Nichiren, "Sun-lotus." The time was one of strife between the emperor and the nobles (*shoguns*). The family to which Nichiren belonged stood with the ruler, sacrificing their castle for him; the emperor was to them the symbol of the nation. The circumstance introduced a tinge of politics into Nichiren's reform. The *shoguns* were mostly Amida Buddhists. The Tendai monks of Mount Hiei, particularly, did not support the emperor. To Nichiren, Amidaism seemed both disloyal and heretical; he would found a sect both orthodox and loyal.

Knowing only the *Lotus of the Good Law*, he sought his orthodoxy therein. A self-appointed messenger of Gotama Sakyamuni, he deemed himself the one the *Lotus* had foretold.¹⁴ His prayer, which became the formal prayer of his disciples, was *Namu Myoho Renge Kyo*, "Reverence to the Lotus of the Good Law." He thought he had rejected all

sectarian devices, false scriptures, and impoverished ritual. He called simply on the Buddha of the Lotus. He retained the national *kami* within the range of Amida, whom he sometimes seems to link with the national sun goddess. He held the central concept of the One of reason. He offered no new doctrine to Japan, except the notion that he was an incarnation of the Eternal Buddha—and such a doctrine is not new in Mahayana. He may have seemed at times un-Buddhist in his violence. He had enemies, and he dealt with enemies of religion and the State. He risked his life sometimes in furthering his cause. He went at last to Kamakura, then the seat of Government, where he built a temple and organized a following. But for prophesying national calamity he was banished. In 1270, with the Mongol invasion, his prophecy seemed verified and he returned, a hero in the public mind. He was conspicuously a patriot; he stirred his countrymen. Many have been attracted to his sect by its simple, dynastically nationalistic gospel.

CONCLUSION. Little has been added during recent centuries to what these major sects express, although Buddhism in Japan may not be called a fixed, conservative denomination. It is almost wholly Mahayanist and mainly Amidist; but Mahayana has the germ of liberality and progress. Its philosophy is monistic, idealistic; but there are degrees of reality and truth within the One. It holds the mystic idea of the Buddha-nature inherent in all things; it reconciles diversities and contradictions. It retains the doctrine of impermanence (*anatta*) and a theory of rebirth, but little stress is laid on *karma*. Every household has its shrine; at the temples, services are carried on with regularity and devotion, attended by laymen in great numbers. While many elements in the Order need attention, it leaves wide opportunity both to priests and laity to bring about reform.

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140,000
Chapter 12

THE ZOROASTRIAN PARSIS

Most Zoroastrians live today in India and are called Parsis. Their faith first grew in Persian soil, perhaps three thousand years ago. They are a remnant of the followers of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Iran. They are few in number, aggregating only a hundred and fifty thousand; but their faith, by reason of its age, its influence, and its qualities, secures attention.

Parsis have long been conspicuous in India, particularly on the western coast, where they are a most interesting community. In Bombay the traveler soon observes them and discovers their importance in trade, philanthropy, and the city's common life. He may have thought of them as fire-worshipers. They have been mistakenly so called. He may have known something of their curious "towers of silence," where they lay their dead, where the vultures tear away the corpse's flesh. One may find there is a sober reason for the custom. To what extent the Parsis differ outwardly may be seen, in part, on a pleasant evening along Back Bay. There one finds them among the crowds enjoying the breezes from the sea: dignified, well-clad men, wearing a distinctive headdress, the shiny, black chintz *kokra*, not unlike a bishop's miter, and beautiful unveiled women, attired in gracefully folded *saris* ¹ of fine fabric and attractive colors.

Is it by favoring circumstance or by essential character that this small community still lives its own life in an absorbent environment? Both by extraordinary circumstance and by the genius of their faith, they have preserved their own integrity. The circumstances constitute one of the most remarkable chapters along the rough way of human

experience, some bitter and destructive, and some a favoring miracle. The Parsis, whether in India or Persia, dwell alone amid a multitude, no longer reckoned as a nation. Although distinct, even clannish, they are held in high respect by those who know them. Wherever they find themselves they show ability to make themselves at home.

In India, they are the most highly educated single group. They have been the most susceptible to the influence of the West. Half of the Parsis, approximately fifty thousand, live in Bombay; several thousand live in various centers of western India and Pakistan. A few thousand Parsis still live in Persia (*Parsi* is etymologically *Farsi*, an inhabitant of Fars, a province of ancient Persia), where they bear the name of "Gabars" (hard *g*). *Gabar* is of uncertain origin, but its connotation among Persian Muslims in "infidel." They are, in short, a group of unbelievers living among Muslims. They have often suffered persecution, but have lately enjoyed toleration. Muslims should *not* persecute them, for they are a "people of the book"; they have their sacred writings and, by the Muslim Prophet's own example and injunction, "peoples of the book" are tolerated. However, the Gabars have remained in the homeland of their faith, and taken their chances since the seventh century A.D. Until a century or so ago, their Indian kindred regarded them with distinction, as occupants of the ancestral home. Deputations often came from India in quest of ancient lore and authoritative judgments on questions of faith and practice. One result, however, of this communication was that many Gabars migrated to India where they form, to this day, a slightly different group known as "Iranis," from the name of ancient Persia, Iran. They are more reminiscent than the Parsis of the common origin of ritual, dogma, and folklore. We may divide the living Zoroastrians into these three groups: Indian Parsis, Indian Iranis, and Persian Gabars.

The story of the Indian Parsis begins with their flight from Persia twelve hundred years ago. The first fugitives landed at the little port of Sanjan, on the coast of Gujarat.

Received hospitably by a Hindu raja, the strangers were not aware that they had found asylum among their kindred (see below). They brought to Sanjan in perpetuation of their faith the sacred fire from an ancient temple of Iran. This symbol of the original religion was relighted among Hindus who still observed the rites to Agni, god of fire. One flame has burned in the Parsi temple at Udwarda since 1742; it has kindled other altars as newer temples were established. In fact, once in the eighteenth century, fire was sent from India (Surat) to Yazd in Persia.

Other Parsis were doubtless drawn by trade and opportunity. There is no comparison between fertile Gujrat and the poor soil of southeastern Persia. Some Gabars resort to trade, but most of them depend directly upon the soil for sustenance. The Parsis, on the other hand, found ampler scope and surer reward for a natural aptitude in business. Moreover, they unconsciously enacted a drama of reunion between major stocks long separated. Vedic Indians and Avestan Persians were two branches of one racial and linguistic stem. One found a glorious home in India, prospered, and endured. The other had its day of glory closing with a bloody sunset. Each forgot the other, until tragic circumstance brought the Persian remnant to the hospitable bosom and the fertile soil of their Hindu kindred.

The Parsis lived in peace for about three hundred years. They multiplied and founded settlements in various parts. At last the Muslims overtook them, bringing tragedy for Hindus and Parsis alike. At times, however, the Parsis again found favor with their Muslim conquerors, because of their reputed monotheism. The sixteenth-century Mughal, Akbar, favored them and their faith; he established a fire altar and its attendant in his inclusive "House of Faith." They fared well under British rule and, since Independence in 1947, have prospered under Indian rule.

RELIGION. What is the Parsi heritage? What, in particular, is the heritage of faith? We might examine first such outward signs as the fire temple, and the tower of

silence. These are merely symbols. When the Muslim, in contempt, called the Zoroastrian a "fire-worshiper," the latter properly replied that he no more *worshiped* fire than the Muslim worshiped stones, pointing to the black stone in the Meccan Ka'ba. The fire is to the Parsi what the cross is to the Christian—a symbol; it is quite as tragic, in its way. Take the Persian Gabar temple, sometimes called, in honor of his God, the "gate of Mithra." It is merely a small room, with a consecrated vessel resting on a tripod and containing the ever-glowing flame. The flame is guarded carefully from contamination, in spite of its conceded power to purify itself and the worshiper. Priests, who are usually in the room droning sacred texts from the *Avesta*, veil their mouths especially against a sneeze or cough, lest their chanting pollute the fire. The Indian Parsi temple is more pretentious, although it is hardly to be distinguished on the outside from an ordinary residence. It may be one of the holiest temples, whose fire has been purified by the maximum of ceremony. The fire burns in the center of an inner room in an ash-filled urn that rests upon a stone, four-sided pedestal. It is fed continually by its attendants, or the worshipers, with bits of sandalwood. Worshipers come daily, especially on designated festal days. Men and women mingle freely in the temple and perform alike the simple rite.

WORSHIP. When one has come for worship,² he may recite at the threshold of the shrine the following *kushti* prayer of the "Girdle" ceremony:

The Omniscient God is the greatest Lord, Ahriman is the evil spirit that keeps back the progress of the world.

May the evil spirit and with him all his helpers stay fallen and dejected.

O Omniscient Lord, I repent of all my sins.

I repent of all the evil thoughts my mind has entertained, of all the evil words my lips have spoken, of all the evil deeds I have performed.

Praise be to Ahura Mazda.

Damned be the devil, Ahriman.

The will of the Righteous One is worthiest of praise.

He then passes through the outer hall, leaving his shoes, and proceeds barefooted through an inner hall to the sanctuary with its fire altar. There stands a priest, a *mobed* (from *magupat*, "head-magian"), who receives his offering of sandalwood and money. After the offering the *mobed* gives the devotee some ashes ladled from the urn. Applying the ashes to his forehead and eyelids, the worshiper utters prayers in accordance with his needs and forthwith retires backwards from the chamber—he may not turn his back upon the symbol of Lord Ahura.

The hour of worship is a time of worship only, not of education: there is no combination of ritual and instruction in morals and religion. Such education is usually obtained by readings in the sacred writings and through discussions in the family circle. The Parsi child imbibes the atmosphere and learns the rudiments of the faith at home, while securing such general education as the public schools afford. There is formal training for the priesthood; the priesthood is an old order, well-intrenched, with hereditary succession, whose leading office is the ritual. The faith has long endured through ceremony, and sectarian differences have most often been based on variations in the ritual.

TOWERS OF SILENCE. Consider now the tower of silence, the *dakhme*, where, as Strabo long ago observed, the dead are left to be devoured by birds. There is a famous tower at Teheran, conspicuously located on a mountain ridge. It is a circular wall of unbaked brick, without gate, door, or roof. Only ladders furnish access—a body must not be devoured by animals. The floor inside is level, broken at intervals by rectangular pits. When a Gabar dies, and the rites are said, his body is placed above a pit inside the tower. When carrion birds have picked the bones, they drop into the pit and decay. This funeral custom is ancient, and well-adapted to its native habitat, where mountains are numerous, the air clear, and the sunshine strong, and where the land is thinly populated. It was not, however, Zoroaster's custom. In his day the ordinary dead were buried, only the priests being exposed to devouring birds. The

custom would not do for a humid atmosphere in a flat, thickly populated country. What of India? There are in India long seasons, at least, of clear air and strong sunlight, and there are many mountains. The Parsis themselves are few in number.

There are seven *dakhmes* in Bombay. The seven conform in general with the traditional design and serve the common purpose in the common way. Take a tower on Malabar Hill, a high-class, residential section of Bombay. A single opening midway up the outer wall gives access to the circular inclosure. The disc-like floor dips slightly toward the center, where there is a pit. Two low, concentric ridges, paralleling the outer wall, divide the radial area of the bowl in thirds. There are thus three circular rows, each with many compartments, the upper ring for male bodies, the middle for female, and the lowest next the pit for children's. A body is laid naked last of all in its appropriate circle. When the vultures have fulfilled their office, and the bones have bleached in the sunshine and the wind, the remains are thrown by gloved, professional attendants with tongs into the central pit, where, as purified dust, they lose identity.

Many peoples, many customs. The Parsi funeral method is spectacular, but as commendable as any other for disposing of the mortal parts of man. Furthermore, the method meets for Parsis the dogma, developed after Zoroaster, to be sure, that the elements—fire, water, earth, and air—are sacred and to be by man protected from deliberate pollution. The fire temple is a symbol for the living, and the tower is a symbol for the dead.

PERSONAL DEVOTION. The Parsi ritual includes many elements. Prominence is given to initiation (the *naojote*), to marriage, special festivals, and the frequent *kushti*, "girdle" ceremony. The astrologer has long been used. The Magian has held office since the days of Zoroaster. Herodotus observed that "without a Magian it was not lawful for a Persian to offer sacrifice." Yet, the Parsi layman may at times be his own informal minister of worship. Often the

Bombay Parsi resorts at evening time to some favorite spot along the beautiful Back Bay, where he may adore the waters and do obeisance to the sun. There he stands, a typical lay devotee, on the hard sand at ebb-tide at the ocean's edge. His head is covered, for he is in the presence of Majesty, and he is bare-footed, having left his shoes at a temple door. Facing the setting sun, he reads from a Gujarati edition of the sacred *Avesta*, and recites from memory a prayer he doubtless learned in boyhood, the Ardivisur Nyayish. He faces the sun as it sets through the dust and mists hovering over Malabar Hill, and beyond the towers of silence, almost hidden in their groves of palms, is the symbol of Ahura Mazda, his God. He prays to the sign of Mazda, closes the sacred page, kneels on the sands of the beach, and bows five times so low that the ridge of his chintz hat touches the moist floor. Afterwards he advances to the brink, dips his finger-tips, touches his brow with the wet drops, as if ashes in the sanctuary, and prays again in humble thankfulness and earnest invocation. At last, he backs away up the beach, as the sun's rim dips beyond the hill, his face toward the afterglow on the dark waters. He has worshiped simply, yet in how grand a temple, whose music was the sound of moving ocean tides, and the murmur of the winds among the palms, and whose light was the candle of the Lord.

ZOROASTER. Zoroaster was a Persian of the noble family of Spitama, whose home was probably in northwest Persia, near Lake Urmiya. While we may never know exactly the time he lived, we must accept him as an historical personage, and we may as well accept his dates as 660-583 B.C.; they are tenable in the light of the evidence. The *Spend Nask*, which treated most fully of his life, was lost early, but there are scattered fragments in the later literature. The most we know is based upon the *Gathas*, a group of songs which are the oldest authentic portions of the sacred Zoroastrian scriptures, the *Avesta*. He himself may have written them; at least, he was their editor. According to the Gathic portrait, he was a man of stirring personality,

filled with holy zeal, a veritable prophet, and a teacher of unquestionable power. It is a pity that later writings, which make up the bulk of Zoroastrian literature, obscured him with a veil of sanctification, and made him supernatural. They have him born of a virgin mother divinely set apart. They make him smile at birth in response to the laughter of all good creatures and to the dismay of all evil forces, which flee in terror at his advent. They represent him as standing later before God himself (Ahura Mazda) to receive his divine commission as the reformer of his own day, and the forerunner of the savior (Saoshyant) who would come in the fullness of time to bring everlasting bliss to the pious and to destroy utterly those who have opposed unceasingly "the holy creed which is the most imposing, the best, and the most beautiful of all religions."

The simple facts seem to be that Zoroaster early manifested a certain precocity and as a youth determined to devote himself to the religious life; that at the age of twenty he left the house of his parents, against their will, and wandered forth in quest of truth and guidance. He devoted many years to wandering, observation, and study, and at the age of thirty received the first of the many revelations which made him the preacher, teacher, and reformer. He calls his various revelations "conferences" with God; there were eight, in all, the last of which came when he was forty-two and which gave him the confidence of a full, divine commission. Among his converts was a king, Vish-tashpa. Others of the court embraced his message, lending high sanction to the new prophet of Iran. Success came slowly but surely, throughout wide areas, and at last a new national religion was established on his message. He journeyed far in connection with his mission, through Media and Bactria, as well as Persia. Perhaps the new movement actually got under way in Bactria and, spreading westward into Persia, gained momentum through Vishtashpa's conversion. One of the prophet's several marriages was with a daughter of a royal councillor at the Persian court. The new religion met success, but it seems to have stirred up

opposition. There seems to have been a religious war with the Turanians along the northern Persian border, during which Zoroaster lost his life at the age of seventy-eight. According to tradition, he was buried near the place of his birth, in the neighborhood of Lake Urmiya. Such are the simple facts of his life-story.

ZOROASTER'S MESSAGE. What of his reform? What of the background of the prophet? What were the religious elements within the situation into which he came? There were, to say the least, Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan factors. Southward, in Media, there was Magianism, a system of nature-worship led by "wise men" (*magi*). Northward and eastward were regions of primitive shamanism under *shamans*. The priests of these cults were Zoroaster's most persistent enemies. In one direction or another, there were cults of sun, moon, stars, fire, water, earth, and tribal god. Necromancy, sorcery, and the black arts had wide currency. The prophet's own religious background was Aryan, or Indo-European. All the peoples of this stock revered the shining sky as God, and called him by various names. They revered, also, the sun-god, called in India Mitra, and in Persia Mithra. They worshiped, also, an august guardian of the moral law, known as Varuna in India, and in Persia, Mazda. Both Varuna and Mazda were "Lord" (Persian *ahura*, Indian *asura*). They were supporters of all beings; they put fleetness and strength into steeds, milk into cows, fire into the waters(!), and intelligence into the heart. They placed the sun in the sky, and the sacred *soma* plant (in Persian, *haoma*) upon the mountains. They had all knowledge and could not be deceived; they saw all the past and all the future. They were always present whenever two men met for any purpose.

In India the fortunes of Varuna, for want of a great prophet, waned; in Persia, Mazda, through Zoroaster, attained supremacy. Mazda became supreme, and other gods were forced into the role of demons, unlike their fate in India, where polytheism gave them place as gods. Zoroaster was a monotheist. He was Mazda's prophet; Mazda

was the one *ahura*, or "Lord." Ahura Mazda was God, whose will was known through Zoroaster and must be obeyed. His will was altogether good and for the good of men. This was the burden of the great reform: Ahura Mazda was both wise and good. By his wisdom he created right. He was no mere nature-power, whether sky or sun. He was spirit only, and withal the spirit of truth, beauty, and justice. This expresses the great advance which Zoroaster made; he made religion ethical, and spiritual. He is perhaps the first reformer to achieve as much. He is "a monotheist of the strictest type," says one who knows. He was no metaphysician, nor theologian; he was a practical prophet, whose aim was, in his own words, to purify religion as he found it. He found much to modify or to eradicate in the old Iranian cult with its sundry elements. He stoutly opposed things which challenged the supremacy of Mazda. He seems not to have denied the existence of nature spirits, but he did not care for them. He was interested alone in Mazda, whose *manifestations* were truth, purity, good mind, right order, and coming kingdom. Zoroaster was the first to pray, "Thy Kingdom come," the first to conceive of heaven and hell as mental states, and not locations somewhere in the universe. He was the first to proclaim the teaching that the kingdom of God is within man. He was first to teach that the world and man's own soul are fields of battle between good and evil and that the good must and will succeed. God had no chosen people, apart from those who made their wills conform to the will of God and who gave themselves to true faith and public service. Of necessity, Zoroaster gave large place to the freedom of man's will. Man is free to serve the truth (*asha*, or *artha*), and to hate the lie (*druj*). Man himself was first responsible for his own welfare; he was to ally himself with Mazda, and in the end Mazda would be victorious over all who had opposed him. Evil might powerfully contend in the night but Ahura Mazda is victor on the final morning.

DEVELOPMENTS. Somewhat in contrast with the doctrines of the founder, the new religion yielded to the dualistic

implications of his teachings. It magnified the office of evil, and personified the Evil One. Zoroaster's Angra Mainyu, "evil mind," became the Devil, Ahriman. The prophet himself may, indeed, have had a human, "evil-minded" enemy who was the embodiment of *angra mainyu*. In any case, Ahriman, derived from *angra mainyu* of the Gathas, becomes in the later Vendidad a proper noun. A certain form of monotheism and a certain type of dualism are not incompatible. We speak of ethical monotheism and a subordinate dualism. There is a problem. The eminent Iranian scholar, Professor Jackson, thought that dualism is "on the whole perhaps the most striking feature" of the ancient faith. But what of Zoroaster's view? He proclaimed Ahura Mazda. But he mentioned Spenta Mainyu, "Bountiful Mind," as Mazda's holy spirit. He mentioned Angra Mainyu as Mazda's evil spirit. We think that, with the prophet, this was something psychological rather than theological. He never seemed uncertain about the Lord's omnipotence, never despaired that wrong would perish and right would be exalted. Practically, he made the world a battlefield whereon good and evil were in constant conflict. Not that Mazda, both Lord and Creator, had created evil. He had created men, and given them their freedom, even to oppose their wills to his. They made evil for themselves; and the Lord, to test their souls, permitted evil to endure. This view gives point and ground to Zoroaster's ethics as a reformation. Before his day, there were many powers, some good, some evil, and some good or evil according to their mood, or according as men thought they helped or hindered. Zoroaster introduced the concept of Ahura Mazda as altogether good, as One who by his own nature always does good. Such is his *ethical monotheism*.

The religion, however, became organized on the basis of two great, rival camps, dividing men, gods, and the universe. There was the friendly Ahura Mazda, and his friends; there was Ahriman, the devil, and his associates. Into Ahriman went, along with the prophet's theory of "evil mind," his concept of the "lie." Ahriman is evil and deceitful, a

full-fledged devil. Zoroaster had discussed the attributes of Mazda, the *Amesha Spentas*, "bountiful immortal" aspects of God's character: (1) *Vohu Manah* (good mind), (2) *Asha* (right), (3) *Kshatra* (power, rule), (4) *Armaiti* (love), (5) *Haurvatat* (health), and (6) *Ameratat* (immortality). In the later development, these qualities of God became a hierarchy of heavenly powers—angels. They were the allies and servants of the Lord. Opposed to them were such personifications as Falsehood, Cold, Disease, Sexual Sin, Drunkenness, Irreverence, and Desecration, under the leadership of Ahriman. Ahura Mazda and Ahriman each became a *primal* spirit. God was good, the Devil evil; each was all-powerful in his own dominion. Man must throw in his lot with one or the other. The Parsis are dualists, but in their enlightenment their dualism is not absolute. The Devil is real, but Mazda is supreme, and the victory in the end is his.

Other personal elements entered in, as time went on. The prophet came to occupy more than his title role. He was so closely identified with Mazda, that to worship Mazda was to revere the prophet, also. He became "the chief of all things," "the incomparable among mankind," and "the completely good." In fact, the sinlessness of Zoroaster came to be a dogma. Likewise, there was added a doctrine of messiahs or saviors, three in all, each to appear at an interval of a thousand years. Each would be of the line of Zoroaster, born of a virgin mother. The third is Saoshyant, who will perform a ceremony, by which "all men shall become immortal for ever and ever." Until the resurrection for that final renovation, souls abide in an intermediary state of heaven or hell. The decision between these two abodes is made on the third morning after death when every soul must attempt the passage of the Chinvat Bridge.³ This bridge passes over the pit of hell, and can become as narrow as a keen-edged blade. Those who make the passage enter the House of Song to await the end; the others wait in the darkness and stench of the House of the Lie. Needless to say, such elements as Heaven and Hell as localities, and such doctrines as the prophet's sinlessness, angels, demons,

and successive saviors are additions to the simple creed of Zoroaster.

Less noble elements, also, have crept in, such as distinctions between cleanness and things unclean, the offices of the astrologer (*joshi*), and the magical potency of rites and formulas—elements which remind one of many things the prophet sought to change, or banish.

SCRIPTURES. The original deposit of sacred writings was the *Gathas*, “Songs” (*cf.* the Indian *Gita*, “song”), of Zoroaster, seventeen, in all—at least, seventeen have been preserved. They are the basis of our understanding of the prophet, whether he was editor or author. Other writings were composed as time went on, for Zoroaster put no ban on scripture in favor of his own person, or otherwise. Here is the final list:

1. The *Yasna* or *Book of Worship and Sacrifice*, which includes the *Gathas*. As with the Vedic Aryans, so also with the Iranian, sacrifice was central.
2. The *Visperad* or *Book of Liturgy* for use in worship.
3. The *Vendidad* or *Book of Priestly Law*, with other materials, also. It represents a stage of theology and ritual similar to the Atharvan stage in India.

These three works are the *Avesta* proper (*avesta* possibly means “knowledge”), or the *Book of Knowledge*. There is, in addition, what is often called the “Later *Avesta*” (Nos. 4, 5, and 6, below).

4. The *Yashts* or *Book of Hymns and Invocations*.
5. The *Khorda-Avesta* or *Book of Common Prayer*.
6. Certain Pahlavi and Persian writings, that is, works not in the classical language of the faith. There might be added such vernacular translations of the *Avesta* as exist in India.

The Parsis are heirs of all these elements, doctrinal, ritual, and scriptural. Some accept the body of tradition, others question much of it. There are two schools of thought—conservative and modernist. All are proud of Zoroaster, asserting that he has made a permanent contribution to the ethical and spiritual interpretation of human nature and the uni-

verse. Many seek a revival of the "very simple creed" of the *Gathas*. A few are content to say the *Gathas* are *their Avesta*. The reforming Parsi is content with nothing less than a rationalized *Avesta*; but rationalization is, after all, not the final test of scripture. Zoroastrianism as a whole rests on more than *Gathas*. The later *Avesta* might be ignored, and most of the *Avesta* proper might be renovated. But the situation in which Parsis find themselves is part of their religious problem. His three jewels might shine brightly there or anywhere: *humata* (good thoughts), *hukhta* (good words), and *hvarshata* (good deeds).

These are the major assets of the faith:

1. Mazda (Ormazd), a personal, morally good, dependable, and helpful God, to whom all men, if they will, may turn.
2. Man's responsibility, his duty to cooperate with God, not only for his own, but others' good.
3. Cooperation with God includes animals, the improvement of the land, the raising of flocks, and the prosecution of business enterprise.
4. A denial of the validity of asceticism as a means to moral and spiritual ends.
5. Confidence in the final victory of goodness, truth, and righteousness.

This is the Confession of Faith of all good Mazdians:

I am a worshiper of Ahura Mazda.

I am a Zarathushtran worshiper of Mazda.

I agree to praise the Zarathushtran faith, and to believe in that religion.

I praise good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

I praise the sound Mazdayashnian religion which allays dissensions, which realizes brotherhood, which is holy, which is the greatest, the best, the most excellent of all religions that exist, or will exist in future, and which is the religion revealed by Ahura Mazda to Zarathushtra.

I ascribe all good to Ahura Mazda.

This is my profession of the Mazdayashnian religion.

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Chapter 13

THE SIKHS AND THEIR RELIGION

Sikhism, or more exactly, the religion of the True Name (*Sat Nam*), is of Indian origin and of markedly Indian character. It arose four centuries ago as a quest for God. A Sikh is a "learner," or "disciple," or possibly, "one who serves." The faith has had, as well, a distinguished political career, having become in time a nationalistic community. Sikhs are known as a people of military prowess; for warlike spirit some compare them with the Cossack and the Turk. Their martial exploits brought them fame in India and have given them a name throughout the world. But their religion in itself is interesting. They have their own peculiar priesthood, holy book, lofty theology, code of rigorous morality, sacred ritual, and holy city with its noble sanctuary. The community numbers in the aggregate over five millions.

THE PEOPLES. Many tribes and castes make up the Sikh community. Many Sikhs are Jats¹—a stolid, sturdy, resolute folk, the best agriculturists in northern India. It is proverbial that "the Jat's baby is born with a plow-handle for a plaything." The women and children work side by side with the men in the open fields. They are a self-reliant stock, reserved in demeanor, slow to speak, but often quick to strike. They may be complacently disdainful, as a proverb shows: "The Jat stood on his dung-hill as the Raja's elephants went by; said he to the *mahout*, 'Prithee, whose mice may these be?'"

Some have been drawn from the Arora tribe of merchants or petty dealers, others from the Ramgarhia tribe, whose men are principally mechanics. Some are Khatris, "warriors,"² from whose stock sprang Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. There are Rajputs among them, although the Raj-

puts are the proud warrior race of Hinduism, the purest-blooded Aryan stock remaining. The Sikh Jat is rated lower than the Hindu Rajput, for Jats have practiced widow-marriage. While Jats may rank as warriors in their own estimation, high caste Hindus consider them as Shudras.

THEIR CHARACTER. The Sikhs were first of all a convert people. Anyone may yet join the faith who accepts the doctrine and the baptism. Whatever their extraction, they are usually affected by a common consciousness which first developed out of differences from Hindu and Muslim neighbors, and was later magnified by wars with the Muslims and the British. They are proud of their career and their inheritance. They are in theory a democratic people, but dignified in bearing. What they have lacked in initiative and dash, they have made up in hardihood, courage, resolution, and loyalty. To the temperament of the Jat, Arora, Ramgarhia, and Khatri—often fighting men by nature—Sikhism has added the stimulus of a militant religion. Sikhs are the finest soldiery in all India, steady in victory, in defeat willing to die before yielding. Unquestioning loyalty to his leader dominates the soldier; his heart does not quail before overwhelming odds, because he deems death on the field of conflict an instant access to the bliss of heaven. Witness the Sikh Wars and the Mutiny.³ During the years 1845 to 1849 the Sikhs fought two bitter wars with Britain. A large, well-drilled army had been formed under the redoubtable one-eyed leader, Ranjit Singh (d. 1839). They made a bid for national integrity, having organized a *Khalsa*, "council," or "nation," of their own. Defeated in several hard-fought campaigns, their forces were shattered, and they lost control of almost all their territory; but they were shortly reconciled in a new national role as British allies. The last independent ruler, Maharaja Dhulip Singh, afterwards gave to Queen Victoria his famous diamond, the *Koh-i-Nur*, "Light of the World." The ninth Sikh guru, Teg Bahadur, had foretold (before 1675) the European overthrow of the Mughal Empire and the conquest of the Punjab. His prophecy may have eased the Sikh mind not a little. In the bloody Mutiny

of 1857-59, when England might have lost her hold on India, the Sikhs proved themselves her best allies.

AMRITSAR. Amritsar, in the Punjab, is the Holy City of the Sikhs. It is the seat of the Golden Temple, the *Darbar Sahib*, "Lordly House," which to Sikhs is what Mount Abu is to Jains; Ise, to the Japanese; or, Lenin's tomb in Moscow, to the Soviets. It is their Mecca, their Banaras. The temple is comparatively new, several earlier temples on the site having been destroyed by enemies. It was roofed a hundred years ago with copper gilt, and has since been called the "Golden Temple." The earliest shrine was built on the site toward the close of the sixteenth century by the fourth guru, Ram Das.⁴ He transformed the humble village, with its healing spring, into a flourishing city and in the center of its sacred lake he built the national sanctuary. The spring wrought miracles, and miracles have happened at the lake: once a black crow fell in, and came out white; once a leper bathed there and, it is said, came away sound of flesh.⁵ The name Amritsar means "water of immortality." Nanak, the founder of the faith, had often visited the village while on preaching tours.

The lake, about four hundred and seventy feet square, is surrounded by a broad pavement along which are hostels and chapels of chieftains who come to worship. There are thirty acres of gardens round about. The temple is a square, two-storied structure on a platform sixty-five feet square. The flat roof is battlemented, with a kiosk rising from its center and a little cupola at each corner. The lower half of the temple walls are of glistening white marble; the upper half and the buildings on the roof are copper gilt. Inscriptions from the Holy Book (*Granth Sahib*), in Punjabi, run round the walls. Four silver-plated doors, one on a side, give entrance. A marble causeway two hundred and four feet long, bordered on both sides by rows of stone lanterns, connects the temple and the massive gateway on the shore. The Sikh enters the temple by the western door (Europeans may use the northern entrance). Inside, a simple scene presents itself. There are no idols; neither are there murals of the

gods, but only flower designs. The *Granth Sahib* rests on an altar on the eastern side. Perhaps a priest, a *mahant*, is standing at the altar reading from the book or fanning it ceremonially with royal peacock feathers. A sheet may be spread on the center of the floor to receive the offerings of the pilgrims; money, grain, or flowers may be offered prior to engaging in the ritual or in one's own devotions. Possibly verses from the *Granth* are being chanted to the accompaniment of stringed instruments. The pilgrims join in the chanting. Every twenty-four hours the book is read through by a relay of *granthis* or "readers of the *Granth*." This is the chief aspect of the temple ritual. At times, the *Granth*, accompanied by sacred maces and a fan of peacock plumes, is taken out and carried in procession on its special cushioned platform, under its golden jewelled canopy. In this way, it is made accessible to multitudes at once. This processional setting for the *Granth*, i.e., the canopy, cushion, maces, and plumes, is kept ordinarily in the treasury on the second floor.

ORIGINS OF DOCTRINE. We must now give some account of the religion. Many antecedent factors lent it impetus. The faith is not original. It had a nationalistic temper at the outset, for it arose when the Mughals were vigorously enslaving the Punjabis. It assumed tendencies which had long been felt in Hinduism and Islam. There were many types of both of these religions. The Hinduism of the masses was Puranic, with a veritable riot of gods and goddesses. There were Sunni, and Shi'i Muslims, but among them were Sufis, also, Muslim mystics. And among the Hindus were many *bhaktas*, practicers of *bhakti* to Krishna, Rama, or some other deity as a means of salvation. The *bhakti*-movement was affecting Muslims as well. Nanak, the first Sikh, was in the line of succession with many *bhaktas*. There were Ramanuja, of the eleventh century, Ramananda and Namdev, of the fourteenth, and Kabir, whom Nanak may have known in person.

Ramanuja was primarily a Vedantist, but he taught release through knowledge of the Lord Vishnu, by devotion

(*bhakti*) to him and meditation on him. Ramananda, a Hindu *bhakta* who taught in Banaras, worshiped Rama and Sita and taught salvation through *bhakti* to Rama. Although he was a Brahman and reserved the priestly function to his caste, among his disciples were a Muslim, a Jat, a Shudra, a woman, and an outcaste. Namdev, some of whose verses are included in the *Granth*, was a low-caste tailor and a poet of the heart who was widely influential in the Maratha and the Panjab country. Kabir gave evidence of the interaction of Hindu and Muslim thought, of the interplay of Vishnuism and Sufism in particular. In the *Granth Sahib* are seventy-four hymns and two hundred and forty-three *slokas* or verses of his composition.

KABIR. Kabir (1440–1518) was a younger contemporary and possibly a disciple of Ramananda. To what fold Kabir belonged by birth is still disputed. His mother may have been a Brahman. His name is Muslim (Kabir is Arabic for “great” the Qur’ân applies the title *al-Kabir* to *Allah*). His father may have been a Muslim weaver. Legend says that at his death both Hindus and Muslims claimed his body, the one to burn, the other to bury it; that flowers were miraculously substituted and the body snatched away; that Hindus burned half the flowers at Banaras, and the Muslims buried half at Maghar (where Kabir disciples are still in charge of his tomb). Reared in a Muslim family of poor weavers in Banaras, he was subject to the influences of both Islam and Hinduism. On adopting the religious life, he gave instruction to Hindus and Muslims alike. He gained admission once to a sect of Vishnuism, but he was much opposed to idols. He was affected by Sufi mysticism. He felt commissioned to a reconciliation of mystical Islam and nonidolatrous sects of Hinduism. In the end he was spurned by both parties, and became a free-lance in religion, establishing another sect known as Kabirpanthis, “followers of the way of Kabir.

Kabir wrote in blunt, unpolished Hindu, but his ideas are susceptible of elegant translation. Rabindranath Tagore has beautifully rendered one hundred of his poems into Eng-

lish. The gospel of Kabir was universal. All men were brothers and alike before God. Kabir accepted *karma* and transmigration, which makes him Hindu and not Muslim, but he found release through the love of God. He was a rigid theist, denounced idols, questioned the validity of Vedas, Puranas, and Qur'ân, and urged men to an immediate apprehension of the Divine. He proclaimed that men might find God, the Real, in their own homes, in their own souls. He found God both in nature and in man, yet distinct from both. He was a *bhakta*, holding that religion without *bhakti* was no religion, whatever its asceticism, pilgrimages, almsgiving, or intelligence. Said he, "Utter the name of God: he extinguishes birth and death." "I utter his name, and whatever I see reminds me of him; whatever I do becomes his worship."

NANAK. Guru Nanak Deva (1470-1540), the "holy teacher Nanak," was a disciple of Kabir. He may have met him in Banaras at the age of twenty-six, when Kabir was an old man. He was born of Hindu parents in the village of Talwandi, on the banks of the river Ravi, thirty miles above Lahore. His stock, the Khatris, claimed to be of warrior rank, lower than the Rajputs, but higher than the Jats. But trading has been their occupation, rather than war—trading in a higher sense; they have not been petty shopkeepers. They are literate; many civil administrators have been drawn from their ranks. They are staunch Hindus, but have furnished most of the gurus and priests of Sikhism. The leading gurus, in succession, Nanak, Angad, and Gobind Singh, the last, were all Khatris.

As a boy, Nanak's mind was turned to God. He thought that he might find God better through his mercy than by a study of the Hindu scriptures. He questioned the validity of the ceremonies of his caste. He was initiated at the age of nine (this is the customary age of Brahman initiates) and invested with the sacred thread of the "twice-born." Yet he wrote in verse that if he could have mercy for the cotton, contentment for the thread, truth for the twist, and continence for the knot, he would have a sacred cord which

would never break or be soiled, burned, or lost. He protested caste restrictions and the authority of the Brahman priesthood, taking eventually to private study and to wandering about interviewing various teachers and reformers of the day. Learning Persian, he began reading Muslim literature (many of the Sufi writings were in Persian).

Married in his youth, he kept his home until after his second son was born. Thereafter he became a mendicant entirely devoted to religion. Ordinary occupations had been distasteful to him; he had an aversion to manual labor and commercial activity. Once, indeed, he had entered the service of a Muslim governor; but ties were irksome to him. Both in private life and in public service he remained unhappy. He fulfilled the first two stages (*ashramas*), according to the Hindu standards, those of student and of householder; but his soul was athirst for God, as he conceived him, and his spirit was in rebellion against the times. As he wandered, he would often pause to say, "I am thine, O Lord." He retired to the forest or to the desert, spending day and night in meditation, prayer, and vigil. He visited the holiest shrines of India. Pious legend, however, has charted for him several impossible itineraries. Perhaps he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. If so, he must have been the first Hindu to enter that inviolable Muslim sanctuary.

Hearing at last a definite, divine call, Nanak was commissioned. He had disappeared again into the forest and was wrapped in prayerful meditation. He was carried in a vision to God's presence and given a cup of ambrosia to drink. He heard God say then to him, "I am with thee, I have given thee happiness, and I shall make happy all who take thy name. Go thou and repeat My Name; cause others to repeat It. Abide unspoiled by the world. Practice charity, perform ablutions,⁶ worship, and meditate. My Name is God, the primal Brahma.⁷ Thou art the Holy Guru." Thus Nanak's quest bore fruit at last, and out of these ingredients sprang the faith. He tarried in the place of vision several days and afterward went home to confirm his renunciation, distributing his possessions to the poor. Having sat a

day in complete silence, he gave utterance to the startling revolutionary announcement, "There is neither Hindu nor Muslim."

TEACHINGS. The remainder of his life, some forty years, was spent projecting his vision into the "dark age" (*Kali-yuga*), which he asserted lay all about him. He went about in a religious habit of his own invention: the regular lower garment, *dhoti*, and sandals, to which he added a mango-colored jacket with a white shawl thrown over it, a *qalandar* or Muslim hat on his head, a rosary of bones around his neck; and he kept painted on his forehead a saffron mark in the style of the Hindu's *tilak*. For a companion on his wanderings he had a former Muslim servant, Mardana by name, who was skilful with the *rebeck*, an Arabian stringed instrument. Nanak made verses, through the chanting of which to Mardana's accompaniment he conveyed his teachings. In later years these teachings were assembled by him in a work of modest size, known as the *Japji*. *Jap* means "remembrance," or praise in remembrance of the Lord; *ji* means "honorable." This work is the nucleus, by many Sikhs considered the epitome, of the *Granth Sahib*; although the *Granth*, with added contents, attained huge proportions at the hands of succeeding gurus and a host of bards and saints.

From the *Japji* one may gather such elements as these in illustration of the character and teachings of the author:

There is but one God whose Name is True [he is Sat Nam], the Creator devoid of fear and enmity, who is immortal, unborn, self-existent. . . . The True One was in the beginning. . . . The True One is now also. . . . The True One ever shall be. God cannot be described by words. . . . Who can sing His power? How shall man become true before God? By walking according to the will of God as predetermined. . . . All are subject to His order. . . . In every age man subsisteth by God's bounty. By hearing the Name man becometh as Shiva, as Brahma, as Indra. By hearing the Name even the lowly become exalted. . . . By hearing the Name man attaineth understanding . . . sorrow and sin are no more. Hearing the Name is equal to making the pilgrimage. By hearing the Name the blind may find their way. By obeying Him man knoweth all worlds, and suf-

fereth neither punishment nor death . . . he attaineth the gate of salvation. When the mind is defiled by sin, it is cleansed by the love of the Name. God is ever True, He is the True Lord, He is the True Name [Sat Nam] . . . Hail to Him, the primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age.

Here are doctrines of peculiar force, although they were not altogether original with Nanak; nor are they wholly monotheistic. They repudiate most of the popular ideas and practices in contemporary Hinduism. They soften the rigor of Islamic monotheism. They present a more spiritual and socially inclusive religion in the name of one, all-powerful, loving God, who as Creator and Supreme Spirit makes no distinctions of high and low, is ignorant of caste, and looks upon the hearts of men. He may be called by any name, Brahma, Hari, Rama, or Allah; but He is neither Brahma, Hari, Rama, nor Allah. Nanak's faith was that of the inner light, shining from inner truth and understanding. He emphasized the unity of the Supreme. Yet he did not escape either polytheism or pantheism. He practically assumed the Hindu pantheon and added Allah, to make them subservient to his God of the True Name. He did not treat them as the fiction of man's mind. There are implications of pantheism in the indescribable unity of God. His virtual rejection of the world tended toward the notion of the world as *maya*. Actually, he did not reject the world; but his world-renunciation was not to be gained by pilgrimages, ritual exercises, and solitary asceticism. He accepted the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration,⁸ inconsistent as they are with true *bhakti* and religious vision. He was both Muslim and Hindu in his emphasis on fate: "The die is cast, and no one can undo it." He is typically Hindu in the place he gives the guru as man's guide in matters spiritual; although he exalted guruship, in un-Hindu fashion, above the scriptures (at least above all other scriptures than his own). It seemed consistent for the Sikhs in after years to hold the guru like an *avatara*.

Nanak's contribution was transformed. His brotherhood of man became a brotherhood of Sikh believers and, in the

process, introduced to India one of the most stirring periods in her history. Nanak was more or less a quietist, and many of his later followers were easygoing. Normally the movement would have lapsed back into Hinduism or borne the character of Hinduism under some sectarian name (there is, in fact, a sect of Satnamis). But that it did not fade into the common Hindu day is due to the need which soon arose to support both separate existence and peculiar tenets by appeal to arms. The militant political development began under the fifth and sixth gurus, Arjun and Har Gobind, culminating under the tenth and most powerful, Gobind Singh.

PERSECUTION. The Sikhs had frequently been persecuted by the Muslims. The gurus especially were objects of Mughal tyranny. There were questions of property, taxation, and fealty at stake. Nanak had once been subject to Babur. Amar Das was often reviled by Muslim villagers as he bore water from the Beas River; they often broke his water jars. The Sikhs endured with forbearance for a while, resolved the more to organize in their defense. Ram Das and Arjun gave prestige to the faith by establishing the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Ram Das had made the guru-ship hereditary. Arjun, an able leader and in some ways the most notable of the gurus, made Amritsar the great Sikh capital, giving to Sikhism both a civil body and a political integrity. He collected the scriptures: Nanak's *Japji*; writings of preceding Gurus and his own; and other items of a kindred quality; calling the whole collection the *Adi Granth*, the "Original Book." Spiritual pontiff of the order, he made himself the civil executive; he instituted various measures, such as taxation, for the maintenance of a state. Mughal suspicions were ultimately aroused by the wealth, activity, and influence of the order. The Emperor Jahangir summoned Arjun to his Court, charging him with the propagation of a false religion and with treason, on the basis of aid which Arjun had once given Jahangir's son, the rebel prince Khusru. No compromise was possible. Report says that the Emperor—doubtless seeking solid ground for action⁹—commanded Arjun to expunge from the *Granth* all passages at

variance with orthodox Muslim and Hindu doctrine (Jahangir was a Sunni Muslim). This the faithful guru declined to do, saying that he desired the dissemination of the truth. He was delivered to imprisonment, cruel torture, and death, although many Sikhs have believed that their beloved leader was rescued by God himself from the bonds of his tormentors, and taken bodily to heaven.

It was said of Arjun that "his necklace was his sword-belt," but the gurus after him relied on more than necklaces. They kept bodyguards and maintained an army. Every Sikh became a soldier, a *sepahi* ("sepoy"). The ninth Guru, Teg Behadur (1664-1675), had opportunity to take sides with the Hindu victims of the bitter persecutions of the Mughal bigot, Aurangzeb. In a true sense he became a martyr to the cause of freedom in religion and in thought. Captured by the Mughals, charged with blasphemy and rebellion, he was tortured for a while and finally beheaded. This guru, standing once on the roof of his prison, gazing off toward Bombay, prophesied the conquest of India by Europeans. His martyrdom redoubled the growing warlike tendencies of Sikhism and afforded his son Gobind, who as a lad of fifteen succeeded him, both reason and occasion to organize the Khalsa or Association of the Pure, and to institute the Baptism of the Sword.

THE KHALSA. The times of Gobind Singh (1675-1708) were full of trouble. Aurangzeb, the zealous Sunni, was bent upon the extirpation of the rival faith. At first young Gobind retired out of range, while his people met the fury of attack. With strength of years and mind, he ventured forth, called his men about him, and bound them to the Khalsa and himself by an impressive rite, initiating them into a substantial fellowship of suffering and triumphant devotion. In the center of the camp he put volunteers to the test. He asked for five willing to die, then and there, for him and the cause, saying that God had demanded a blood-sacrifice in payment for his favor. From those who willingly responded, he chose five, and took them one by one into the tent. Four times he emerged with a sword-blade dripping

blood. The fifth time, he brought out all the men alive; a goat had been substituted for the sacrifice. Following the ordeal, the ordinance of baptism (*pahul* or "gate") was administered first to the five, then to the multitude, and to all recruits thereafter. With daggers (two-edged for the man; one-edged for the woman), sweet water was stirred in an iron bowl; and with this water, this *amrits ar* or nectar, each person swearing fealty was anointed. Each man thereafter took the name of *singh* or "lion." Each *singh* has since adorned himself with the "five *kakkas*":¹⁰ the *kesha*, a top-knot (his hair is never cut; he is a *keshdari*, "hairy one"); *kanghi*, a comb (usually worn at the back of the head); *kara*, an iron bracelet; *kirpan*, a short sword; and *kacha*, "shorts." These are the marks of pure Sikhs, whom one cannot mistake for other Indians.

Fiery souls flocked to the banners of Gobind. Soon he had an army for offense against his enemies. He was not always successful in battle with them; in fact, he was often in sore straits, at times near death. His sons were captured and slain at Sirhind, near the city of Ambala; Sikhs, as they pass the fateful spot still cast stones of revenge and scorn. Gobind escaped capture by the Mughals, but fell victim to an enraged Pathan whose father he had slain. Before he died, however, he had inspired his countrymen for exploits later on.

Gobind Singh ordained that, after him, there should be no guru, but only the Khalsa, and the *Granth Sahib*. He made over the Khalsa to God, he said, and the *Granth* alone might serve as head of the community. Unable to secure an authentic copy from its custodians, he composed a book of his own from the best materials available. He took the *Japji* without alteration, nor did he alter the essential teachings of the line of gurus. Sayings of his own are included in the volume, laying stress upon the welfare of the nation. Sikhs, said he, should continue the worship of the one, invisible, true God, should honor the memory of Nanak and his successors, but should bow to naught save the holy book. "He who wishes to behold the Guru, let him search the

Granth. The Guru will dwell with the Khalsa. . . . Wher-ever five Sikhs are gathered together, I am also there with them. . . . Consider the Khalsa as the Guru." He bade his people ignore temples and shrines, except the Darbar Sahib in Amritsar; to discard the sacred thread of the Hindus; to ascribe no special sanctity to the Ganges or any water, save the nectar of the baptism; to confine their ritual bathing to times of worship at the temple. He re-established the ban on caste, throwing the ranks open to all.

LATER SIKHISM. Sikhism has experienced during the last two centuries certain doctrinal modifications, and has suffered from sectarian division. It has yielded much to the pressure of Hinduism. The guru has become an *avatara* like Rama and Krishna to the Hindus. Nanak is no longer a wandering minstrel singing of God in the hearts of men; he is no longer man's guide in the darkness of Kaliyuga; he is an incarnation of God. "Guru Nanak is God,¹¹ the Supreme Brahma," one Sikh writer has said. An inscription on the Golden Temple proclaims Nanak the incarnation of Rama. Many Sikhs believe that he worked such miracles as the cure of leprosy, the drawing of water from dry ground, and the restoration of the dead to life. In the same vein, every guru is an incarnation; each successor was an incarnation of Nanak; all together are a ten-fold manifestation of the divine spirit. The *Granth Sahib* has become an idol, itself a symbol and manifestation of divinity; it is revelation. The Sikhs are afraid of *maya*: "Illusion hath reduced the world to subjection," but "*maya* approacheth not him whom God mercifully associateth with the saints." The common people have never questioned the validity of *karma* and transmigration (nor did Nanak escape these theories). The *Granth* says, "Impute not blame to anyone, but rather to thine own *karma*," and "This soul hath dwelt in many wombs"; "The ungrateful shall wander in transmigration." Caste has been allowed to reassert itself. Sikhs discriminate between those who, though equal by religion, are unequal socially. The Mazhabis, of outcaste or Muslim origin, are Sikhs only by religion; yet the *Granth* proclaims that "he

who knoweth God is a Brahman"; and Gobind said, "The four classes shall be one, each calling on the Guru." The faith has yielded much to Hinduism and very little to Islam. It is Hindu both in its virtues and its weaknesses. Its *bhakti* is Hindu. While man's "body is the field of his acts," salvation is by the mercy of God. Monogamy and sobriety are commended. Early consummation of marriage is forbidden, and the injunction is, "If possible, drink not at all." Some Sikhs, however, consume large quantities of *bhang* or Indian hemp. Sikhs usually burn their dead, as Hindus do. There are two main groups today:

1. The Sahajdaris, "easy-going" followers of Nanak, chiefly. They are not distinguished by peculiar outward signs. They shave their heads, much in the manner of the Hindus (are often called *monas* or "shaven") and, like the Hindus, indulge freely in tobacco. They have little interest in Gobind Singh. They differ little from unwarlike Hindus.

2. The Keshdaris or Singhs. They are the major strength of Sikhism today; perhaps they are in the majority. They stand distinct from their neighbors and constitute the party of progress and reform. They revere all the gurus, but Arjun and Gobind above others. While the two groups have never been antagonistic toward each other, the Keshdaris, since the recent Sikh revival, have declined to give their daughters in marriage to "easy-going" husbands, unless they first submit to the rite of *pahul*. The Singhs have lately sought to revitalize the faith, to redeem many of the shrines from careless administration and corruption. The most energetic reformers of the lot have been the Akalis, "the deathless ones," or Nihangs, "those free from care." They are the bravest of the soldiers. They eat no meat, and they drink no spirituous liquors, but they do eat *bhang*. They are bitter toward the Muslims. They are, in their own view, the true warriors of *Akal Purukh*, "Immortal Spirit," their designation for *Sat Nam*. They salute one another with the Sikh war-cry, "*Wah Guruji ka Khalsa, Wah Guruji ki Fatah*," or, "Hail, the Khalsa of the Guru; Hail, the Victory of the Guru."

It is one of the strangely heartless turns of time and circumstance that Hinduism should unwittingly take heavy toll of Sikh vitality. Perhaps the historian of religion will recognize that the Sikhs did something to save India from Islam. They were an obstinate bar at a critical time, saving much of Hinduism from the common enemy. We might express the hope for every energetic, reforming member of the Sikh community, who adheres to the religion at its best, shorn of lesser elements, that his "time" (*kal*, "death") may not come soon; that he may be in truth *a-kali*.

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Chapter 14

JUDAISM

Judaism is the oldest of the monotheistic faiths and has been in a very real sense the spiritual teacher of the Western world, both directly and, through the medium of Christianity, indirectly.

Judaism is also a religion associated with a particular people who have always been relatively few in number. The Jewish population of the world in the middle of the twentieth century is estimated to be under eleven and one half million, approximately five million less than before Hitler. Yet historically this religion of a small nationality group has through its prophetic teachers inculcated belief in a universal God, the basic affirmation of the Jewish faith being found in Deuteronomy 6:4, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." This is religious universalism. It is monotheism.

However, Judaism as a religion is more than monotheism. It is *ethical* monotheism, one of its great contributions to the world being its emphasis upon personal and social righteousness. There is in Judaism what has been called an "ethical dimension," which is worthy of closest study. Judaism and Christianity both represent a peculiar blending of religion with ethics which ever since the time of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus has made it forever impossible to detach the moral from the religious requirements of life.

For an understanding of Judaism as a religious faith, an understanding of inner dynamics is essential. The Bible, which is the primary source for a knowledge of the beginnings of Hebrew-Jewish religion, requires this inward understanding. It is written from the point of view of religious

faith. The great personalities of the Bible—Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Jeremiah, and the rest—are significant only because of their faith in God. A modern representative of Judaism has interpreted the essence of biblical faith in terms of the "I-Thou Dialogue."¹ It is possible, says Martin Buber, to refer to God objectively as "He." Yet essentially religious experience involves a meeting of God with man in which God speaks and man responds. This is what we find, for example, in the call of Abraham. Again and again in the Bible, God speaks and it is man's duty to respond. Viewed subjectively, therefore, the essence of historic Hebrew-Jewish faith is a strong inner conviction of relationship to God, a dialogue between God and man which has led, as in the case of Moses and other heroic figures, to courageous action on behalf of the suffering and oppressed.

SYMBOLS OF THE FAITH. First, let us look at certain outward symbols of the faith. Jewish life is largely dominated by common practices sanctioned by tradition. There is no central religious authority, no single ecclesiastical dignitary who exercises universal rule. Every community and each congregation is autonomous. There is no longer a Jewish priesthood; the rabbis are laymen; Judaism is a lay religion. Creeds are foreign to the Jewish spirit, except one, the Shema, which has already been quoted above (Deut. 6:4). The divisions among Jews are mainly due to ritual, rather than to creed. There are two chief divisions: (1) the Ashkenazim, including Russian, German, and most American Jews; and (2) the Sephardim, including Spanish, Portuguese, North African, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern Jews. The great majority of Jews of both divisions are orthodox. Reform Judaism, which originated in Germany at the turn of the eighteenth century, now flourishes chiefly in the United States where there are about four hundred reform congregations. Conservative Judaism, a religious trend mediating between orthodoxy and reform, also originated in Germany and centers mainly in the United States where it, too, numbers about four hundred congregations.

The synagogue is the modern stronghold of the faith. The ancient Law is its foundation, and prayer has been for centuries the sacrificial incense which pervades the sanctuary. The religion of the synagogue is a survival from the destruction in A.D. 70 of the Palestinian state and of the temple in Jerusalem. It has conserved belief in both the early written and the later oral Law as if revealed together at Mount Sinai, and it has allowed for special institutions which the prophets and the rabbis had begun. It has never lost the vision of the restoration of the people (cf. Zionism). While cherishing its past, it has inspired piety independent of the ancient situation and broader than the land from which the people scattered.

THE SYNAGOGUE. Synagogues have been built in no fixed form. Most, perhaps, have been rectangular, after the pattern of the temple in Jerusalem; but some have been octagonal. Their name is Greek for the Hebrew *Keneset*, "assembly." The "house of the people," or the "house of assembly" (*bet ha-Keneset*), was an ancient institution. There were many of these houses according to the need, whatever the motive of assembly. Their use continued even after worship was centrally provided for in Jerusalem. After the return to Palestine from the Babylonian captivity in the sixth century B.C., the Jews worshiped in these houses side by side with the cult of the restored temple. Hellenistic Jews first called them "synagogues." After the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, and the dispersion, these buildings multiplied and have been the centers of the faith as it spread throughout the world.

The synagogue is the habitation of the Ark of the Covenant (cf. Deut. 10:2, Ex. 25; I Kings 8:1-8), which contains the scroll of the Law. This rests in the sanctuary (by the east wall, perhaps), covered by a drapery. Before and above the Ark hangs the perpetual lamp; and flanking it are two candelabra. The reader's desk, from which the Law is read, rests on the center of the floor before the Ark and facing it. Along the side walls of the building and in the balconies are rows of seats or stalls. There is a women's

gallery (which was once a separate court, for the synagogue was essentially an assembly hall for men). There is no imagery beyond the Lion of Judah, the six-pointed Star of David, and fruit and flower designs.

THE SABBATH. The day of public worship, which perpetuates the ancient Sabbath, is the Christian Saturday. It begins, exactly, at nightfall on the Christian's Friday. Candles are then lighted by the mother in the home, while the men attend the synagogue, engaging in a service culminating in the blessing (*kiddush*) of the wine-cup. It closes on Saturday at sundown with the Habdalah ceremony, with its odor of spices, the sputtering of wine on burning tapers, and the blessing of the wine-cup of salvation. It is traditionally a day of rest and joy—complete rest from all labor, and satisfaction in the care of God. To a degree, rest has been enforced by prohibitions; the Mishna (*ca.* A.D. 200) enumerates thirty-nine kinds of work which may not be done on Sabbaths, including the lighting of a week-day fire. These prohibitions have been irksome in modern times, and devices have been used to circumvent them. As with other faiths, the Jewish also has had need of adaptation to a changing world.

Of the three services of Sabbath worship, the one held on Saturday morning is the longest and most important. It occupies, when fully chanted, about three hours, led by the cantor and the rabbi. Certain parts belong by right and custom to descendants of the priests and Levites, if there are such. The cantor is a layman who leads the chanting, partly from the Law, mostly from the Psalms, which form the groundwork of the service. The rabbi is a layman who provides the sermon, if there is one. Ordinarily, he is the teacher in the community, the authority on matters of the Law, the ritual, and food. During the Sabbath morning service, the scroll of the Law is taken from the Ark and carried solemnly in procession through the synagogue and placed upon the reading desk.

A quorum (*minyan*) of ten men is needed to begin a service. The service includes the chanting of psalms and

hymns to God. There are also prayers of thanksgiving for the blessings of God in daily life and prayers for guidance. Practically all the prayers are in the first person plural, suggestive of the *community* emphasis in Jewish religious life. Passages from the Pentateuch and the Prophets are read on Sabbaths and holidays and include the Jewish declaration of faith, the *Shema*: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." There are two prayers given in a standing position (*amidoth*) which contain praise, petition, and thanksgiving. Men (thirteen years and upward) are invited to offer blessings over the Law. The service ends with the singing of a hymn.

CEREMONY. Judaism is preserved also in ceremonial. No faith survives without its ceremonies, fasts, and festivals. The course of Judaism has been, in these respects, spectacular. In the ancient days of her glory, Israel observed a temple ritual which may be compared with nothing less than the annual temple and altar services in ancient China. Many rites are still observed which are of unusual interest and impressiveness.

The two great holidays are Rosh Hashana, the New Year, and Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, occurring in the fall of the Christian year, with ten penitential days including the two. In Palestine, for example, they mark the end of the drought and the coming of the rains, perpetuating the memory of early pastoral times. The New Year is also the Day of Judgment, when God opens the Book of Records to decide who are worthy to live longer and who may have to die within the coming year. On the Day of Atonement these fates are sealed. It is a solemn day, even more sacred than the Sabbath itself. But before men's fates are sealed, the guilty have a chance to claim forgiveness and to make atonement.

Under the ancient covenant, atonement was made by bloody sacrifices, for both moral and ritual offenses; the blood of the offering represented the surrender of the worshiper's own life to God. Many of the prophets, however, criticized the ceremony when it became too formal. Hear

the prophet Micah fulminate against it: "Wherewith shall I come before Yahweh, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old? Will he be pleased with thousands of rams, or ten thousand rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgressions, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Then he answers, gently, in the famous judgment, "What doth Yahweh require of thee, but to do justly, to love kindness, and to walk humbly" with him? Prayer in the modern observance of the Day of Atonement atones for sins against God. The Yom Kippur evening service begins with the singing by the cantor of the plaintive Kol-Nidre (All Vows) prayer which absolves the worshipper from all vows and undertakings except those relating to his fellowmen. A man is supposed to seek forgiveness directly from any other men whom he may have injured. The whole Day of Atonement is one of fast and expiation.

Succoth, the Feast of Tabernacles, the most joyful of feasts, falls five days after Yom Kippur. It celebrates the ingathering of the crops, and commemorates the care of Yahweh for his people while they wandered forty years in the wilderness. In the temple days of old, many sacrifices were offered while the temple was illuminated. In the synagogues today, the occasion calls for decorations of plants and fruits and a procession of men bearing citrons and palm branches bound with myrtle and willow. The close of the feast marks the conclusion of the annual reading of the Pentateuch. In the homes, in the dining room, or in the private garden are erected decorated booths (*succoth*, whence the title of the feast) made of tree-boughs. In these booths, reminiscent of the shelters in the wilderness, festive meals are served and special prayers of thanksgiving are pronounced. It is customary during this festival to give alms to the poor.

Pesakh, the Passover, or Feast of Unleavened Bread, is notable and of ancient origin. Traditionally it celebrates the exodus, but actually its history is more complex. Perhaps it first arose in Canaan, in synchronism with a Canaan-

itish festival of spring, which celebrated the release of man and beast from winter's bondage. It doubtless dates from the nomadic days, when the half-barbaric Hebrews roved hungrily in tribes and families from one oasis to another, fighting for water and pasturage. It was celebrated at the spring equinox with sacrifice, an offering of the first-born of flocks and herds. Since the time of the Exodus, it has reminded men of escape from bondage and of entrance into the Land of Promise after "forty years." God's hand was seen in man's relief. In later times, when Israel was in bondage to overlords in Palestine, the Passover was a time of possible disturbance on behalf of freedom. The Roman rulers, for example, were uneasy when the people went up to Jerusalem for the feast.

While the Passover is now celebrated publicly in the synagogue, with hymns of rejoicing and prayers for freedom, it is a family festival. On the first two nights a special feast is held called "the seder," when the story of the Exodus is read. It is usually the occasion of a family reunion, thus preserving in strength and beauty the Jewish home. In ancient times, each family slew a lamb in its first year, roasted it, and ate it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Since the destruction of the temple, the lamb has not been eaten; a roasted bone is placed upon the table as a symbol. The meal consists of unleavened cakes; parsley dipped in salt water; watercress or horse-radish tops for bitter herbs; nuts and apples, and slices of horse-radish. During the feast, each participant sips four cups of wine at specific intervals: before the story of the exodus has been rehearsed; after the eating of the cakes and herbs, and a general washing of the hands; after the recitation of various psalms and benedictions; and during the final celebration.

Such are the rites and properties which keep the Jew alive, which preserve his history.

What is the story of the Jew? What is the essence of his enduring religion? Modern Jewish religion has an ancient Hebrew ancestry. The Jews were nourished in the "House of Israel," and represent a noble lineage of at least three

thousand years; the actual beginnings are conjectural. The general background is Semitic, the common soil of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It will be interesting to learn how three great enduring faiths sprang from the narrow, common soil. The Jews most nearly represent the ancient common heritage. Their movement has shown marvelous endurance. All the world is conscious of it. Jews have, in a peculiar measure, the title of the universal people. Their story is, unquestionably, the most dramatic of all the records of popular religious movements which linger in world history.

MOSES AND THE COVENANT WITH YAHWEH. While the patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (Israel)—came before him, Moses is the founder of the Hebrew faith. Abraham may be the father and the Israelites his children, but Moses is responsible for the adoption and exclusive worship of Yahweh as the Israelitish God.

Moses first appears in the Book of Exodus as a young man of Israelite birth but Egyptian culture. His very name is Egyptian, Mose (son, son of) being similar to such well-known Egyptian names as Ahmose, Thutmose, and various others. It is typical that at the very moment when Moses appeared on the stage of history, he ranged himself alongside the oppressed. Having witnessed an Egyptian taskmaster beat a Hebrew slave, Moses impulsively killed the Egyptian.² The next day his instinct to arbitrate differences displayed itself³ in an incident prophetic of Moses' future role as judge and lawgiver.⁴ Made aware that his identity as slayer of the Egyptian overseer had become known, Moses fled to the desert, sanctuary of so many men outside the law. Here Moses encountered the tribe of Midian and married Zipporah the shepherdess, daughter of the tribal chieftain. Association with Jethro, Midianite chieftain and priest, may well have contributed to Moses' preparation for the difficult art of leadership.

During this period of desert withdrawal the episode of the burning bush took place, an experience which transformed Moses from a man with perhaps more than ordinary ethical sensitivity into a man profoundly religious, a man of

God, or in the language of Deuteronomy 34:10, a prophet greater than any since his day. According to the opening verses of the third chapter of Exodus, Moses, while caring for his father-in-law's flock, had come to a well-known sacred place, Mount Horeb (Sinai), the associations of which may well have turned his thoughts toward God. Then God spoke to him out of the bush. First, Moses was commanded to remove his sandals, still a custom of Semitic (and other) peoples when treading holy ground, as today when the Muslim enters the sacred enclosure within old Jerusalem. The story continues with a reference to the sufferings of Moses' kinsmen in Egypt. Here as always in Hebrew-Christian faith at its best, ethics and religion are inextricably interwoven. Then came the revelation of the sacred name, YHWH, for which the word *Adonai* (Lord) is substituted.⁵

A comparison of different passages in the Book of Exodus, and of the underlying sources⁶ from which they have been taken strongly suggests the newness of Yahweh-worship in the time of Moses. Although the "J" (Judean, Jehovistic) document carries the worship of Yahweh back not only to Abraham (Gen. 12:1), but to the most remote past (Gen. 4:26), both the "E" (Ephraimite, Elohist) and the "P" (Priestly) documents affirm the newness of Moses' worship of God under the name Yahweh. The passage in Exodus 3:13-15, coming from the "E" document, is written in question and answer form:

Then Moses said to God, "If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' what shall I say to them?" . . . God also said to Moses, "Say this to the people of Israel, 'The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you': this is my name forever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations."⁷

The Priestly document is even more explicit:

And God said to Moses, "I am the Lord. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as God Almighty, but by my name the Lord I did not make myself known to them."

The latter passage (Exodus 6:2-3) indicates that the chief name by which God had been known among the Hebrews in the patriarchal period had been El Shaddai, God the Almighty. From this time on the name by which they are to address God is Yahweh. It is Yahweh who delivers Israel from bondage in Egypt and makes a covenant with Israel.

SINAI AND THE COVENANT. In the Book of Exodus Moses is not only the inspired leader of the Israelite journey out of bondage into freedom. He is also the founder of Israel as a community. The basis of this newly established community was the covenant, in Hebrew, *berith*, meaning "bond" or "agreement." The covenant has been called Israel's constitution. The giving of the covenant is vividly described in Exodus, Chapter 19. It is a covenant not with a few chosen leaders, but with a people who pledge their obedience to the God of the covenant.

Now, therefore, if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.⁸

In Exodus 24:1-11 the covenant is sealed with blood, described in language that has been given rich symbolic meaning in later biblical passages:

Then he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, "All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient." And Moses took the blood and threw it upon the people, and said, "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you in accordance with all these words."⁹

The proper understanding of the covenant finds different interpretations within the Bible itself. Popular interpretations tended to make it an agreement between equals, involving *quid pro quo*. This conception of the covenant as a sort of commercial bargain was vehemently repudiated by the prophetic interpreters of Israel's religious life. Yahweh, they said, had covenanted himself with Israel by an act of free choice in a spirit of love. So in the Book of Hosea Yahweh asserts: "When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son" (11:1). Such a gift merits not a grudging response, but a wholehearted, joyous one.

The note of joy in God remains to this day one of the finest characteristics of Jewish religious life.

MOSES AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. The covenant idea finds expression in the present form of the Pentateuch in the so-called Book of the Covenant in Exodus 20:23-23:19 and in the ritual decalogue of Exodus 34:10-26. Both of these groups of laws in their present form, however, reflect an agricultural setting and hence come from a later period than Moses. Is it possible to penetrate behind this later legislation and come closer to the time of Moses himself? Some leading scholars today believe that the ethical decalogue of Exodus 20:1-17 (with its near duplicate in Deuteronomy 5:6-21) reflects at least the spirit of the founder of the Yahweh-faith. The approximate content of Moses' "Ten Words" may be given as follows:¹⁰

1. I am Yahweh thy God.
2. You shall have no other gods before me.
3. You shall not take the name of Yahweh your God in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honor your father and your mother.
6. You shall not commit murder.
7. You shall not commit adultery.
8. You shall not steal.
9. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.
10. You shall not covet your neighbor's house.

These commands carry upon them the stamp of a great religious spirit. The first two commands, for example, mark a long step toward religious universalism. This is not monotheism, in the full sense, because they do not deny the existence of other gods. Yet the demand for exclusive loyalty to Yahweh contains within it the seed of monotheism, and monotheism of a high ethical order.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HEBREW-JEWISH HISTORY. Yahweh dwelt for long in the holy mountain, but his presence went with his people, symbolized by a sacred stone (the tables of the Law) in a box, or ark (the Ark of the Covenant). And around the ark of the presence the tribes journeyed and were transformed.

Under Moses' successor, Joshua, they entered Canaan, seizing land for all the tribes. Outwardly, the ties which bound them were loose; their life was pastoral; there were chieftains, but no king. There was no hierarchy (priesthood) in control; affairs were in the hands of "judges," until Yahweh ordained a kingship. The shepherd Saul was at last anointed as king by Samuel. There was for long no capital until David, Saul's successor, captured the stronghold of Jerusalem. It continued as the capital and is still the Holy City. It flourished especially under Solomon. For more than a century there was an undivided Kingdom, recognized by neighboring states. In 922 B.C., ten tribes seceded, to establish a kingdom of their own with its capital at Samaria. With varying fortunes, they endured for two and one half centuries. In 721, their city fell, and they became dispersed and "lost." The two tribes of Judah and Benjamin retained their kingdom until 587, furnishing, as we have seen, the pattern and substance of Judaism. It was the House of Judah which was rebuilt after the captivity in Babylon. Thereafter the people were no longer known as "Hebrews," but "Jews," a name derived from Judah by way of the hellenistic designations, *Judæa* and *Ioudaioi*. From under the Persian mandate, the Jews passed in 332 B.C. to the Greek, and to the rule of Alexander's successors, the House of Seleucus. For a brief space, in Maccabæan times, the Jews were independent; and then they passed to Rome. During Roman rule, Jesus, a Jew of Nazareth, was proclaimed Messiah by his Galilean followers. The career of Jesus of Nazareth, "King of the Jews," was a source of worry to the Roman governors. After his death, presumably as a revolutionary agitator, the worries of the Roman rulers increased rather than diminished. In the reign of Fadus, the procurator (A.D. 44-48), a leader named Theudas appeared, who deluded many by his words, according to Josephus.¹¹ The Romans disposed of him very quickly by capturing him, cutting off his head, and carrying it to Jerusalem. In the time of the procurator Felix (A.D. 51-60) another leader of resistance appeared, called by Josephus "an Egyptian." Attacked by the Romans, and two hundred of his followers

killed, the "Egyptian" escaped but did not appear any more.¹² Inevitably, the spirit of rebellion spread, resulting finally in the Jewish-Roman War of 66-70. Jerusalem fell to the troops of Titus in A.D. 70 and the nation was destroyed.

PALESTINIAN JUDAISM. Tradition has it that when the situation in the city became hopeless, the Pharisee, Johanan ben Zakkai, had himself smuggled out of Jerusalem in a coffin and taken to the Roman camp where he petitioned Vespasian that he and his disciples might take refuge in the city of Jamnia and there establish an academy. The petition was granted. And thus, although Jerusalem perished, Judaism survived.

Two generations of comparative peace followed the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in A.D. 70., and much was accomplished in the way of the reorganization of religious and social life. To be sure, there were disturbances, which some have called a second Jewish War, during the reign of Trajan (98-117), particularly during the latter part of his rule when the emperor was campaigning in the East. A war of total proportions broke out under Hadrian's rule (117-138). Cassius Dio, the Roman historian, blames the outbreak upon Hadrian's decision to build a new city, Aelia Capitolina, on the ruins of Jerusalem and a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the location of the ancient Jewish temple.¹³ The rebellion broke out into the open in A.D. 132, the leader of the Jewish forces being Bar Kochba who was enthusiastically supported by Rabbi Akiba and acclaimed by him as the expected King-Messiah. Palestine was thinly held by the Romans and the Jewish forces met with initial successes. Finally, Hadrian sent his best generals against the Jews, first among them being Severus, who was brought all the way from Britain, where he was governor. Severus did not engage the Jews in an early mass encounter but pursued a war of attrition, isolating and exterminating small groups, depriving others of their sources of supply, and waiting until the time was ripe for a final encounter. The decisive battle was at Bethar (modern Bittir) in A.D. 135, where Bar Kochba had chosen to make the last stand with what forces

he had left to him. The result was the total defeat of the Jewish defenders. The third and last Jewish rebellion had been crushed, but not without loss to the Romans. When Hadrian reported in writing to the Roman Senate the outcome of the war, he left out the usual opening phrase commonly used by the emperors, "If you and your children are in health it is well; I and the legions are in health." But the plight of the Jews was far worse. The statement of Dio is no doubt accurate that "nearly the whole of Judæa was made desolate."

After the war Hadrian issued a series of edicts which struck at the heart of Jewish feeling and religious observance. Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem or even to approach the city. Once a year only, according to Saint Jerome's account written in the fourth century, on the ninth of Ab, the Jews were permitted to linger briefly near the sole surviving part of their temple, the Wailing Wall, and there lament the loss of their sanctuary. Circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath and religious festivals, and even the study and teaching of the Law were forbidden. The only effective opposition to such persecution was martyrdom, a path chosen by a number of outstanding rabbis, including Akiba who, it is said, was condemned to death by slow torture after a long imprisonment.

After Hadrian's death in 138, the new ruler, Antoninus Pius (138-161), revoked the oppressive edicts of Hadrian, although restricting circumcision to members of the Jewish race. The center of Jewish life now shifted to Galilee, where it remained during the succeeding generations which saw the making of the Mishna as the guide of Jewish life. The makers of the Mishna are called the Tannaim (Teachers) and the period of the Tannaim is supposed to extend from the rise of the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai (c. A.D. 10) down to the completion of the Mishna under Judah I (ca. A.D. 200). However, the period of greatest activity of the Tannaim began in A.D. 70 and is divided among four generations of scholars: (1) A.D. 70-100, (2) A.D. 100-130, (3) A.D. 130-160, and (4) A.D. 160-200. Judah's life work and the thing for which he is chiefly remembered is the

bringing to completion of the codification of the Mishna. The unique thing about his work was that it was a collective effort incorporating the labors of his colleagues as well as his own. The Mishna of Judah "The Prince" became the definitive one. The completion of the Mishna represents a watershed in the history of Jewish religious life, the point at which Palestinian Judaism began to decline and the Babylonian center of Jewish life began its rise to ascendancy.

THE DISPERSION. The successive wars with Rome and the repressive measures which followed each defeat accelerated the process of Jewish dispersion. The Diaspora or Dispersion is the story of the Jews among the nations, with all that this has meant for politics, morals, and religion. They were thenceforth men without a country, but with all the world before them. Having no land, they still possessed a consciousness of solidarity; they were Yahweh's people; they had the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. Having no temple or priesthood, they had their synagogues and rabbis. The Star of David went before them and rested where they found a habitation. They preferred the cities, but did not hesitate to occupy the soil. They had learned trade and commerce, but could be content, each by his own house and fig tree, or among his flocks. Although they scattered, they kept together through their common rites; they went where rabbis would accompany them, and where kosher meat could be provided. Some returned to Babylon and some to Egypt, while some remained in Palestine. Many passed westward to Spain and France. Spain supplanted Babylonia in the eleventh century as the center of Jewish life and thought. The Moors afforded them protection, when they acquired Spain; and Muslim Arab literature and science were congenial to their minds. They were expelled at last (1492) by Christian bigotry. But, meanwhile, they had produced in Spain, in many types of intellectual activity, a succession of great names; the greatest, possibly, was Maimonides, or RaMBaM, the philosophic theologian. There were poets and philosophers. Perhaps the poets were,

to some degree, original; they often sang of wine and love, rather than about the majesty of Yahweh and the Torah; but wine and love are common themes both in Israel and Islam. The philosophers were borrowers; their type of speculation was not based on Jewish principles; it was Greek, specifically neo-Platonic. Back of all medieval Jewish speculation lay philosophy purveyed by Greeks and Arabs. Maimonides set out to reconcile the Hebrew Moses and Greek Aristotle, and that on the basis of the Arab Aristotelianism of Ibn Sina (Avicenna)!

In contrast with the Jewish lot in Muslim Spain, there was tragedy in Christian Europe, which had stemmed, to its holy(?) satisfaction, the tide of Islam. While the rulers were often tolerant, depending much upon the Jews for loans and the management of finance, the populace was generally hostile, indulging in outrage on the slightest provocation. When the Crusades were under way, feeling was predominantly bitter. Christendom sent, in blind fury, plundering legions against the Muslim "infidel" in Palestine and Syria; and vented spite upon the Jewish infidel at home. The church was nervously alert to every hostile tendency, and the life of every nonconformist was in jeopardy. In 1290, every Jew was ordered out of England. A century later, they were wholly driven out of France, exiled from many towns in Germany, and, in Spain, subjected to incessant persecution. In 1481 the Spanish Inquisition was established, a confusion of ecclesiastical tyranny, subservience of kings to church dictation, and unholy bigotry on the common Christian's part. The Inquisition worked its greatest havoc in Spain, Portugal, Spanish America, and Portuguese India (Goa). Thousands of Marranos (secret Jews) were caught, meeting death by burning, as the proclamation was enforced, known in Portuguese as *auto da fé* (Latin, *actus fidei*, "act of faith"). Autos were held in Spain until as late as 1826, and the Inquisition lasted there until 1834.

During the Middle Ages, the Jews fled in great numbers again eastward to Poland, Russia, Turkey, and the Muslim East. Although, while in the West, some intermarriage had

occurred, with some modifications of thought and custom, the Jew was still distinct and bound by his tradition. His existence and distinction had been emphasized by the ghetto. By 1600, practically all the Jews of Europe were confined to ghettos. The ghetto was, under the prevailing circumstances, a refuge and a prison; residence within was by both Jewish choice and Christian law. A ghetto pattern gradually appeared, made visible by the acid of persecution and seclusion. Out of his own cabined life the Jew spun for himself the only universe he knew. He lived apart; the ghetto was his little world of home, school, synagogue, shop, and cemetery. He might wander in the larger, outer world by day, but at nightfall the ghetto was his only place of safety. While he thus lived intensely, he lived more peacefully than in the days of his wanderings. His culture was a concentrate, satisfyingly rich in the virtues of his faith and of value in obscuring the foulness, congestion, and stupid degradations of his residence. And still at the center of the community rested the Ark; above it flew the cherubim; and the people cherished hope and a sense of their eternal mission. In the fires of freedom kept nourished in their bosoms lingered the ancient hope of the Messiah; they stood ready, with pent-up devotion, to set out again under his leadership, when he should come.

A NEW DISPENSATION. Eventually, a change came suddenly for the pent-up Jew; he benefited greatly by a widespread revolution. When the Bastille fell on July 14, 1789, a new day dawned for the Western races and for the Jew. It restored his larger universe and gave him opportunity to enter it—when he had recovered from the shock! “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,” the watchwords of the Revolution, brought promise to the Jew of leveled mountains, paths made straight and smooth, and the salvation of the Lord. But Judaism found itself suddenly in a world transformed; ghetto culture had lagged behind the progress of the world at large. When French armies of the Revolution broke down the ghetto barriers beyond France, the liberated Jew came into rights he had neither fought for nor anticipated. But

he was quick to seize his opportunity in industry, science, and philosophy, and he entered offices of state. Manna once again fell plentifully in the wilderness.

It was a new Diaspora, this time one of eagerly claimed privilege, but with greater risk to Judaism than the scattering of A.D. 70. The unique Jewish culture concentrate was threatened by dilution. The faith itself was threatened by the change. Tradition fairly staggered in its new environment, finding, for example, that Judaism held no monopoly on revelation; finding that its orthodoxy was, to some extent, a liability. The Jewish social order itself once again collapsed; and the Jews have faced the old, persistent problem of their relation to the world.

THE LAW. The Law is the foundation of the faith. Law has both a special and a general meaning. Primarily, it means the Torah, the Law of Moses, who was the first law-giver. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are associated with his name. They compose the Pentateuch, or "five-fold" writing. This is the essential Torah. It tells the story of the beginnings of the world: "In the beginning, God," and nothing else; creation came from nothing, by the word of God, and took form according to His will; He shaped a man out of the dust of the ground, and gave him for a "soul" His own breath; a woman was made from a rib of the man as he slept—they are the parents of the human race. It tells the story of the fathers of the House of Israel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Israel); of various institutions, such as sacrifice, circumcision, the Sabbath, priests, and kings; of the origin of envy and strife among the chosen people, and their captivity in Egypt (Goshen). It recounts the plagues sent by God upon the Egyptians, forcing the pharaoh to let the people go, the leadership of Moses, and his reorganization of the nation under Yahweh and the Law, including the Ten Commandments. It adds a priestly interpretation of the sacrifice, indicates the ritual for the consecration of priests and Levites, enumerates the laws against uncleanness, and describes in vivid details the wanderings in the wilderness. It includes, in Deuteronomy,

the repetition of the law, the details of the ritual of religion, and the rules of diet; establishes a calendar of festivals; gives laws for individual and social welfare; and expounds the covenant relations between Israel and Yahweh. Such is the substance of the Torah, in its special meaning.

The Torah, in a general way, is composed of many other writings, also. It may refer to the whole canon of the Jewish Scriptures. This canon, which took form as such about A.D. 100, contains: (1) the Pentateuch, (2) the Nebiim, or Prophets, and (3) the Kethubim, or Hagiographa, the Writings. These are the Jewish Bible; Christians call them the Old Testament. They were inscribed in Hebrew and Aramaic. Later (third century B.C.), a translation into Greek was made (called the Septuagint, or the Seventy). There are, in addition, about fifteen writings, which are called Apocrypha, which are not included in the Hebrew canon; they are not considered Torah. Obviously, the canon assumed form slowly. There is no evidence of any scripture recognized as sacred before the second temple (sixth century B.C.); simply the Law existed, divinely revealed. Many factors entered into the process which produced the canon, not the least of which was the final need of Jewish defense against Christianity. The larger Torah was defined in contrast with the Christian gospels and many hellenistic writings. The sequence of the writings in the canon is no sure sign as such of the dates of composition; it is established, for the most part, by the sequence of events depicted.

THE PROPHETS. The prophetic books constitute the second group of writings in the Hebrew Bible, arranged as it is by subject matter. Chronologically, the prophetic writings come first. The Book of Amos, for example, is the oldest complete book of the Bible, older than Exodus, although source materials used in the books of the Law predate Amos.

The first reference to Hebrew prophecy as an organized movement comes from the eleventh century B.C. in the period of the early monarchy. The passage of the Bible is I Samuel 10:5-13. Here prophecy emerges from obscurity as an al-

ready well organized and well disciplined movement, the origin of which is uncertain. A revival of this type of ecstatic prophecy seems to have taken place in the period of Elijah and Elisha. Under the leadership of these two early prophets, the prophetic movement was closely associated with the development of the national life and defense of the ancient Yahweh religion against the rivalry of Phoenician-Canaanite ways of religion.

The prophets of the eighth century B.C.—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah—resemble their predecessors in the prophet movement in numerous ways. In the manner of presentation of their message they reveal their continuity with the earlier ecstatic prophets. Visions, voices, startling symbolic actions, and generally “queer” behavior are still present even if less frequent than in the lives of earlier prophets. In their denunciations of wickedness in high places, the eighth-century prophets continue in the line of earlier prophets like Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah. Earlier as well as later prophets had the same sense of being “called.” Prophecy in the eighth and succeeding centuries is the fine flowering of something deeply rooted in the Hebrew past.

But there are differences. The eighth-century prophets are writing prophets. The Book of Amos is contemporary with the events it describes and is in the main written by the prophet himself or his immediate disciples. The fact that with Amos and his successors prophecies were written down implies that prophecy now assumed a more rational content. The finished literary art of these prophets is evidence of conscious preparation of their message. The prophetic message has become more important than the ecstatic experience which had earlier been the hallmark of prophets.

The most striking difference is the challenge to the earlier tendency to identify religion with nationalism. Religion for the ninth-century prophets had been closely related, although not bound, to nationalism. The message of the writing prophets is one of judgment upon the nation. When one turns from reading about Elijah and Elisha in the Books of Kings, there is an observable change of atmosphere. Na-

tionalism in religion begins to recede. A moral and religious universalism begins to loom up in the distance.

The writing prophets are consistently pessimistic about the national destinies of Israel and Judah. They are convinced that these two kingdoms are doomed. Amos lumped Israel together with surrounding nations in his message of judgment (Chs. 1, 2).

"Are you not like the Ethiopians to me,

O people of Israel?" says the Lord.

"Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt,

and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?

Behold, the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom,
and I will destroy it from the surface of the ground . . ." ¹⁴

In the perspective of history, this proclamation assumes large importance. "Here we have a great advance in the history of religion, for this is the first appeal to an international morality." ¹⁵ But when the words were first spoken, the judgment must have seemed harsh and unfeeling. The teachings of Amos ran counter to the most cherished expectations of common people and leaders alike. Fond hopes were cherished, for example, of the imminent "Day of Yahweh" when Yahweh and his people, it was fondly believed, would be vindicated against their enemies. Amos contradicted this popular expectation.

Woe to you who desire the day of the Lord!

Why would you have the day of the Lord?

It is darkness, and not light;

as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him;

or went into the house and leaned with his hand against the wall,
and a serpent bit him.

Is not the day of the Lord darkness, and not light,
and gloom with no brightness in it? ¹⁶

One searches for a ray of hope in the Book of Amos almost, if not entirely, in vain, provided 9:8b-15 be left out of consideration, since it is generally regarded as a later addition. The only exception to the prevailing pessimism is found in 5:4-5 and 14-15. The funeral dirge sounded in 5:2 appears

to represent Amos' sad but settled conviction about the destiny of Israel.

Some modification of this pessimism may be found in succeeding prophetic books, but no basic change. Hosea's purpose is to warn Israel that Yahweh is about to destroy the nation because of its sins (1:4). There is more warmth of personality in Hosea than in Amos. Hosea's passionate concern for the fate of Israel gives his book added intensity. There are passages in Hosea which suggest hope for the future. Yahweh's love for Israel is such that he cannot let Israel go (11:1-9). But this hope lies in the future after judgment has taken place. Punishment may serve as discipline, but the social and political entity of Israel which now exists is doomed. There is similarly hope in Isaiah, but it is hope for a remnant. Isaiah is mainly responsible for the doctrine of the remnant dramatically symbolized by the name he bestowed upon his son, Shearjashub (7:3) which means "A remnant shall return." Isaiah perhaps expected the group of disciples who gathered around him to constitute the nucleus of the remnant (8:2-3, 16). Isaiah, chapter 6, verses 9-10, is probably his final verdict upon a public he served so long, rather than an opinion entertained at the beginning of his ministry:

And he said, "Go, and say to this people:
"Hear and hear, but do not understand;
see and see, but do not perceive.
Make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy,
and shut their eyes;
lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears,
and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed." ¹⁷

Micah, a younger contemporary of Isaiah, made his pessimism regarding the nation most explicit of all. Jerusalem, the capital city, and the temple are both to be destroyed:

Therefore because of you
Zion shall be plowed as a field;
Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins,
and the mountain of the house a wooded height.¹⁸

THE INTERNAL SITUATION. Not only were the prophets pessimistic about the political future of the countries they loved so dearly, but they were also profoundly discouraged about the social health of Israel and Judah. In their analysis of the internal conditions of their nations and their setting forth of the conditions which make for social health, the writing prophets formulated a standard of social morality and religious inwardness unequalled before or since their day. They were not content with social reform alone. They asked for something deeper, a thoroughgoing moral reformation. Amos made it crystal clear that religion and morality belong together. Righteousness is the basic requirement of Yahweh.

I hate, I despise your feasts,
and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies.
Even though you offer me your burnt offerings
and cereal offerings,
I will not accept them,
and the peace offerings of your fatted beasts
I will not look upon.
Take away from me the noise of your songs;
to the melody of your harps I will not listen.
But let justice roll down like waters,
and righteousness like an everflowing stream.¹⁹

Hosea speaks of justice, too (12:6), but his special concern is with the false understanding and false practice of religion. The cause of Israel's failure religiously is a lack of knowledge of God. The cure—and here we come to a word that is central to Hosea's thought but very difficult to translate adequately—is *hesed*, most commonly rendered, love. Hosea's whole emphasis is thus deeply inward. No better summary of his interpretation of true religion can be found than in the lines of chapter 6, verse 6:

For I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice,
the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings.

The stern tone of Amos' demand for social justice sounds again in the pages of Micah and Isaiah of Jerusalem. The

greatest single verse of the Bible, marvelously summarizing prophetic religion as a whole, is found in Micah 6:8:

He has showed you, O man, what is good;
and what does the Lord require of you
but to do justice, and to love kindness;
and to walk humbly with your God?

Isaiah of Jerusalem is the greatest of the eighth-century prophets. His message is many-sided. Stern woes are pronounced upon those who exploit the weak and poor (5:8-23), in language similar to that of Amos. Also reminiscent of Amos is the condemnation of the constant round of ritual worship divorced from ethical conduct.

Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean;
remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes; . . .
seek justice, correct oppression;
defend the fatherless, plead for the widow.²⁰

Unique in Isaiah's teaching is the conception of the moral holiness of Yahweh. This note is struck in the passage describing Isaiah's prophetic call.

In the year that King Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple. Above him stood the seraphim; each had six wings: with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew. And one called to another and said:

"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts;
the whole earth is full of his glory."²¹

The various passages in which Isaiah counsels faith in Yahweh provide a clue to the prophet's own inner life as well as to the central element in his message. "If you will not believe, surely you shall not be established," Isaiah said to Ahaz (7:9). The common tendency to identify belief with doctrine runs the danger of misinterpreting Isaiah's meaning. "If you will not have faith (*theaminu*), surely you shall not be established (*theamenu*)."²² Faith here means a total reliance upon God as the only basis for stability in human existence. In 26:16 faith is compared to a

sure foundation. In 31:1 faith is described as an inner resource more trustworthy by far than reliance upon horses and chariots. In this teaching of inner reliance upon God, Isaiah matches Hosea in his vocation of purifying and spiritualizing the understanding of religion.

Such was the contribution of the eighth-century prophets to the unfolding of Hebrew faith. The French historian of religion, A. Lods, comments that each of these great prophets had his own view of the shortcomings of his nation:

but their censure has this in common: it sets a higher value than had been set by any other people in antiquity on morality and inward piety. A century before Confucius and Buddha, two centuries before Aeschylus, and much more categorically than any of these religious thinkers and reformers, they declare that God demands purity of life rather than burnt-offerings . . .²³

PROPHETS OF THE SEVENTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES. Jeremiah is the prophet of inwardness in religion. The most intimate and personal part of his book is the so-called "Confessions of Jeremiah" (Jer. 1:4-19; 11:18-23; 12:1-6; 15:10 ff., 15-21; 17:14-18; 18:18-23; 20:7-12, 14:18). These self-revelations permit us to recognize in Jeremiah a shy and sensitive personality (1:6), led by an inner religious compulsion to endure mockery and brutal violence (11:18-23). In these passages we find an inner dialogue with God. The prophet is perplexed by the prosperity of the wicked and would have revenge (12:1-6). In this dialogue we find the first clear example of the life of personal prayer. "Wilt thou be to me like a deceitful brook, like waters that fail?" the prophet asks (15:18). "If you return," comes the answer, "I will restore you, and you shall stand before me . . . And I will make you to this people a fortified wall of bronze; they will fight against you, but they shall not prevail over you, for I am with you, to save you and deliver you, says the Lord" (15:19, 20). Again in 20:11 God's answer comes to Jeremiah's personal petition in the form of inner renewal and irresistible strength: "But the Lord is with me as a dread warrior; therefore my persecutors will stumble, they will not overcome me." To say that Jeremiah is the true founder of

personal religion is not to deny that Jeremiah loved his nation and hoped against hope that it could be saved. Nevertheless, when the nation fell in 587 B.C. before the Babylonian invader, the emphasis of Jeremiah upon inwardness in religion is one of the factors that made it possible for Hebrew religion to survive.

Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, lived in a period of national crisis. The central event in his life was the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. The prophecies of Ezekiel delivered before this date (chaps. 1–32) are prophecies of doom; those delivered afterward contain a message of hope (chaps. 33–48), inspired by the vision of a restoration of Jewish life centering in a new temple. Ezekiel was a younger contemporary of Jeremiah. Like Jeremiah he helped his fellow Jews to realize that they could worship Yahweh, could keep their religion after the nation had fallen. One of the passages in which Ezekiel affirms the independence of Yahweh from the national life is his opening vision (1:3–3:27). The vision of God's glory (1:15–28) is described with almost overwhelming detail, but several of Ezekiel's most important ideas appear in this passage: God's transcendence, his glory, his nature as Spirit, not limited to Jerusalem.

The ideas are clear, Yahweh rules the universe. He can go everywhere (omnipresence), function everywhere (omnipotence), even in Babylonia, and see everything (omniscience). It is strong theology in a sugar-coating of dazzling imagery.²⁴

In a similar passage in chapter 10, Ezekiel describes even more specifically the "glory of the Lord" rising from above the temple in Jerusalem and being transported to Babylonia to be with his people in exile.

Thus Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, is a prophet of the great transition from nationalism in religion to universalism. Even more specifically than Jeremiah, Ezekiel advances the concept of religious individualism. Both Jeremiah (31:29) and Ezekiel (18:2) quote a proverb in which the people are represented as saying that the sufferings they are experiencing have been inherited from their fathers. Ezekiel affirms that the individual can control his own destiny, a half-

truth, to be sure, but the particular part of the truth needed for that time.

The word of the Lord came to me again. "What do you mean by repeating this proverb concerning the land of Israel, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge'? As I live, says the Lord God, this proverb shall no more be used by you in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; the soul of the father as well as the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sins shall die."²⁵

Ezekiel would no doubt have addressed to the individual Israelite the words he heard addressed to him: "Son of Man, stand upon your feet, and I will speak with you" (2:1), an invigorating message for a discouraged and weak-willed people.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH, THE UNKNOWN PROPHET OF THE EXILE. A generation after Ezekiel, an unknown prophet who was at the same time a great poet wrote words addressed to the Jews in Babylonian exile. He is usually referred to as Deutero-Isaiah and it is not certain whether his own place of residence was in Palestine or Babylonia.²⁶

Deutero-Isaiah brought a message of hope to discouraged Jews living in Babylonian exile. This hope is communicated in the words of great lyrical beauty in Isaiah 40:1 ff., familiar to us from Handel's oratorio:

Comfort, comfort my people, says your God.
Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her
that her warfare is ended, that her iniquity is pardoned,
that she has received from the Lord's hand
double for all her sins.

It was the rise of Cyrus to power which stimulated this buoyancy of spirit on the part of this unknown prophet. In 539 B.C., after previous lesser conquests, Cyrus defeated Belshazzar, son of Nabonidus, in battle and then marched against the city of Babylon. As it turned out, Babylon fell before his advance without a struggle, the city being delivered into Cyrus' hands by treachery. Cyrus, called "the Great," founded the Achaemenid line of rulers of Persia, a dynasty which proved to be more favorable to the Jews than any other rulers in history.

Religious universalism finds more clear and eloquent expression in the words of Deutero-Isaiah than anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible. "Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel and his Redeemer, the Lord of hosts: 'I am the first and I am the last; besides me there is no god'" (Isaiah 44:6; see also 45:5, 14, 18; 46:9; etc.). Moreover, this message is intended not only for the nation of Israel, but also for the Gentiles. "It is too light a thing that you should be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (49:6). These words are all the more impressive when one remembers that they were addressed to exiled Jews living in Babylonia where they were surrounded on all sides by majestic temples devoted to the various deities of the Babylonian pantheon.

An accompanying religious idea is expressed through the so-called "Servant Songs" (42:1-7; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12). It is the conception of vicarious suffering which strongly influenced early Christianity in its interpretation of the meaning of Jesus' life and death and which may indeed have offered Jesus himself a pattern for his own public mission. Much debate and ingenuity have been spent in an attempt to identify the servant in the author's thinking. Probably he was thinking of the nation of Israel and attempting to reconcile his conviction that Israel was a chosen people and the fact of her tragic experience of life. How reconcile Israel's chosenness and her suffering? This is one aspect of the larger problem of evil. Deutero-Isaiah answers it by means of his doctrine of vicarious suffering. The concept is dramatically developed in a series of four poetic descriptions. In the first, Isaiah 42:1-7, there is a confident assertion that the servant is chosen by God for a great mission which he will surely accomplish. In the second passage, 49:1-6, the sense of mission is heightened if anything, but in a single verse we catch a suggestion of doubt or bewilderment (50:4). In 50:4-9 the necessity of suffering is accepted by the servant, accompanied by a touchingly intimate dec-

laration of God's nearness. Finally, in 52:13-53:12 the prophet carries his thinking about the servant to its conclusion. It is through suffering that his mission will be accomplished. This is not, of course, a complete solution of the philosophical problem of evil. There is in this assertion, however, a profound truth that can be readily grasped. Suffering is the great teacher. There are some things which we can learn only through painful experience. Many things we have learned to understand only by the sacrifices of martyr individuals and groups. Deutero-Isaiah here develops one of the profoundest insights to be discovered anywhere in the Bible.

This brief summary of the teachings of some of the prophets must suffice to show that there are values still for all humanity in the prophetic writings.

THE WRITINGS. The third portion of the canon is the Kethubim, the Writings, which include with others the well-known books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, and Daniel. As compositions, they range from scattered psalms, some of them ancient, to the heroic tale of Daniel, written in the second century B.C. The Writings represent a wide variety of mood and scenery, as one may see even upon hasty examination. The Psalter was the first of the Kethubim to find its place within the canon. It became the nucleus of the temple hymnbook; the psalms were used also in the synagogues. Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes are writings of "wisdom" type, dating from the fourth century and later. They reflect Greek influences upon the thought of the Jews of Palestine. Daniel was among the latest works composed. Its hero is the Daniel of the Babylonian captivity who interpreted dreams for the king, and who when thrown into the den of lions was protected by the God of Israel. Thereby the writer would inspire the Jewish Maccabees waging war against the Greek rulers of Antioch in Syria.

THE TALMUD. The canon as such is not the scripture upon which the modern Jew relies exclusively. Teachings known as the Talmud ("teaching") became current after

the canon had been closed and seem at times to have overshadowed the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. They come from the period of Roman rule and the early years of the dispersion after the fall of Jerusalem. This Talmud consists of comments of the rabbis and their interpretation of the Law and the ritual, at first oral and later reduced to writing. There are two portions of it: (1) the Mishna, "Repetition," and (2) the Gemara, "Completion." The materials which form the Mishna dealt with all aspects of life and all branches of religious observance, with a view to making plain the course of life amidst varying experiences and reducing the probability of transgression. Back of it was the Law itself, but the interpretations varied, especially in the Jewish academies of Palestine and Babylonia. Therefore the Gemara was composed in "completion" of instruction; thus usually do explanations multiply of things inexplicable. The result was a huge mass of traditional regulation and details of ritual, too large for ready reference, and unwieldy even for the expert. Yet the Talmud actually shaped the course of orthodoxy during the early Christian centuries. The Mishna of the rabbis, e.g., Hillel, Meir, Akiba, Judah, and the Gemara of the "Sayers" were immediate, real, and valuable. The voices of the prophets, including Zechariah whom many took to be the last, had long been silent. The battlements of Zion had been stormed effectually; the restoration program had been ruined; the temple had been desecrated and at last destroyed. But the Law remained. It was tangible; it could be worn about their necks, it could be inscribed by "repetition" on their hearts; it could be practised in minute detail in daily life.

The Talmud's size became embarrassing. Compare its bulk with the modest Pentateuch. It could not be read on Sabbaths in a single year, nor on the Sabbaths of a century, perhaps. It was at last reduced. A reduction called *A Copy of the Law* was made in the twelfth century by Moses Maimonides of Spain and Egypt. In the sixteenth century, the digest called *Shulchan Aruch*, "the Prepared Table," was arranged and became the standard code of life

and law. It has been the final authority for the orthodox Ashkenazim.

THE FAITH. What is the essence of the faith of the Jewish people? We may attempt a summary of Judaism in terms of the following five items:

God Is One. The Shema is the glory of Israel as the similar assertion is the glory of the kindred faith of Islam. Such is the basic principle of true religion. There is one righteous, loving God. This is the most precious and most comforting aspect of man's conception of the universe. It is said that Rabbi Akiba (d. A.D. 132), while under torture of the Romans, breathed the word "One" and found sufficient peace. Unity came to be the great conception in the life of Israel. It represented God, the corporate life of the people, the nation's mission to the world, and above all else, that singleness of purpose and devotion by which the individual and the nation worshiped God, who alone was, is, and evermore will be.

God's unity was an achievement, or the gift of revelation, as some would prefer to say. The Jewish doctrine is that the One God was "revealed" to Moses at Mount Sinai. The idea is not, however, out of harmony with the concept of growth. The Jews did not learn all about the One God through Moses. They learned more through the later prophets. While in Moses' view, the God of Moses was not exclusive, except for Israel, the later theory of God's exclusiveness was traced back to him. Moses became by tradition the founder in every major sense of Hebrew faith. The higher doctrine of Yahweh is nevertheless the contribution of the prophets, in the era of the kings. To them Yahweh was not merely one of many names for God, nor yet merely a name; Yahweh was the name of the only God.

Even so the prophetic doctrine of the one righteous God did not carry far, at first. The nation was slow to comprehend it. Many of the people never understood it; they followed their own gods. They were not truly Yahweh's people and did not recognize and worship him. Perhaps the ten tribes could not weather the severe Assyrian storm because

they were not Yahweh's people. They had not understood his unity, his justice, and his love. Nor did all of Judah seem to comprehend, for only a remnant was preserved, those who put their trust in Yahweh. Moses and the prophets had another view of Yahweh which many of the people could not understand. They conceived of God as *near* his people, in the burning bush and otherwise, "revealing his secrets unto his servants the prophets" (Amos 3:7), while the people were inclined to think of Yahweh of the burning mountain, ruling from his mountain height, or from some distant heaven. While the prophets, therefore, knew that Yahweh of necessity was one, good, true, holy, and near (the "beauty" of the Lord was not thus early emphasized), the populace was not so sure that God's morality was essential to his divinity and power; nor did they feel his presence near.

When Judaism as such (differentiated from the Hebrew faith) took form upon the basis of the priestly law (the priestly interpretation of revelation, ideas, and institutions), God became transcendent and "deistic." That is, Yahweh became a *deus*, or "high God," whose seat was heaven, whence he ruled the life and ways of men, his creatures, whom he had made in the likeness of himself. He had revealed his Law; men must obey. It remained for a philosophy of the Yahweh-concept to modify or to supersede the theory of God as Law. This was initiated by hellenistic Judaism, that is, by Judaism after it became engulfed and gravely challenged by Greek thought, near and after the Diaspora. The Jewish Philo (d. *ca.* A.D. 40), of Alexandria, attempted, in the manner of his day, to account for God as the Absolute, who revealed himself through the scriptures to the common man and through Reason (Logos) to the thinker. But Philo had no Jewish disciples, nor any influence on the later faith; his interpretation was more effective in Christianity. Jewish scholastic, or hellenized, theology may be better seen in Moses Maimonides (1135-1204).

Times were different in the Middle Ages. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, all had to face the problems of philosophy. Each evolved its own more or less influential

“scholasticism.” What Ashari had accomplished for Islamic thinkers, and Aquinas was soon to do for Christianity, Maimonides accomplished for the Jews. He was a Spanish Jew born in academic Cordova; but, swept out of Spain by a conservative reaction against philosophy, he spent his life in Egypt, as court physician to the Saljuq Saladin. He sought to show that there is and can be no essential contradiction between philosophy and religion. He would establish Judaism upon a philosophic basis; he would make God reasonable, and not merely the object of man’s faith; he would show that man’s mind and man’s heart can both agree on God. To this second Moses, man’s mind is, therefore, a medium of revelation! He strenuously opposed: (1) all anthropomorphists, those who believed that God made man “in his own image,” and that, therefore, God may be understood by reference to his creature; and (2) all attributists, those who attributed to God corporeal or psychic qualities, such as hearing, seeing, and the like.

He held God to be one, with “no Unity like unto him in any way”; incorporeal, not having “any corporeal qualities”; and the only object of devotion—“There is none other than He to whom it is proper to pray.” He exalted faith. He preceded many philosophic statements by the phrase, “I believe with perfect faith. . . .” He thus reconciled faith and reason. He made a careful study of the scriptures, his very method making this essential. But he took all anthropomorphisms (e.g., references to God’s hand, throne, etc.) to be figurative. He could say no more of God than that he is. Therein he employed Aristotelian argument which led from contingencies back to necessary existence, from motion to a primal, unmoved mover. God was ultimate reality. God, however, was creator: “He alone was, is, and will be, the Maker of everything.” By what process? In Neo-Platonic fashion, Maimonides interposed between the Absolute God and the material universe a series of immaterial intelligences which emanated from the Absolute, ten in all, through the last of which the world was actualized. Matter

was mere potentiality, which did not appear as things until the actualizing intelligence operated on it. The human intellect (a system of ideas, the highest of which exist as pure form, therefore imperishable) is thus actualized from potentiality; as is prophecy, also (the highest stage of human attainment). The soul is pure form and, therefore, is eternal. The prophets stand upon the plane of pure intelligence and, therefore, speak truth. Moses, especially, was a prophet. As for man, he does not represent God's highest purpose; he has no guarantee as such of immortality; his destiny lies in himself, not in his stars. Man needs for his effective guidance to God's ends which are inscrutable the Law as given to "our Teacher Moses." Rewards and punishments are shown therein; man may obey and live, or disobey and die. A Messiah will appear, in the commonly accepted form of a personal deliverer, to remind men of their dangers and their opportunities. And "at the time when it will please the Creator," there will be "a resurrection of the dead." Maimonides believed in Yahweh, Moses, the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings! He sought to reconcile them all with Unity. God remained the fundamental concept of the Jewish faith.

THE MESSIAH. The Messianic hope has been persistent. Orthodox Jewry has looked for a Messiah, while Reform Judaism with its prophetic universalism has thought of Israel itself as the Messiah. In the early days the Hebrews held the notion that they were Yahweh's chosen people who would realize under him a world dominion with glory and peace for the nations. Soon there developed the expectation of a unique person who would lead them to their destiny of universal sway. He would be "the Lord's Anointed" (Messiah). Isaiah prophesied the coming of a wonderful, mighty, eternal Prince of Peace through whom a perfect social order would be achieved on earth (Isa. 9:6; 20:2 ff.). Micah heralded the ideal one who would "feed his flock in the strength of the Lord." Jeremiah foretold the coming of a king of the line of David who would "deal wisely and exe-

cute righteousness in the land.” Ezekiel spoke of a Shepherd who would feed the house of David. After the fall of the Maccabean house and during the increasingly oppressive Roman rule, the longing for the coming of the Messiah and the Messianic Age increased in intensity. But the nation perished in A.D. 70 and the hope centered on an individual. The Messiah has never come, but many claimants have appeared, including Theudas (first century A.D.), Bar Kochba (early second century A.D.), Moses of Crete (440), Serenus (720), Abu Isa (early eighth century), David Alroy Menaham (1155), Abraham Abulafia (1284), Sabbatai Zebi (1625–1675), Jacob Frank (1726–1791), and many others. Even the rationalist Maimonides included the constant expectation of the Messiah among his Thirteen Articles of the Jewish faith.

ZIONISM. A collective interpretation of the Messianic hope is Zionism, the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. It revives the earlier nationalism which great masses of the Jews have never given up and lays stress upon their need of a religious homeland. Jewish tradition had taken the dispersion as an evidence of national sin and the wanderings of the Jews among the nations as a means of penitence. At last their repentance should be rewarded; they should be allowed to go back home.

The modern Zionist movement was initiated by Theodor Herzl, a Viennese journalist and playwright who in 1896 published a book called *A Jewish State*, which provided an ideology for Zionism. A Zionist Conference held at Basle in 1897 formulated a basis for future implementation.

The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a publicly recognized, legally secured home in Palestine. In order to attain this the Congress adopts the following measures:

1. To promote insofar as it serves the above purpose the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, craftsmen and tradesmen.
2. To select and organize the whole Jewish people in appropriate local and general bodies in conformity with the laws of the land.

3. To strengthen Jewish national sentiment and national self-consciousness.
4. Preparatory measures to obtain the sanction of governments required for attaining the objects of Zionism.

Official sanction for the establishment of a home in Palestine came with the now-famous Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917. Once again political history seemed to repeat itself—the British Cyrus had espoused the cause of restoration. In view of the controversy which has been precipitated by the establishment of the Zionist state, the special wording of the Balfour Declaration is worth reprinting:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

REFORM. Early in the nineteenth century among the Ashkenazim of Germany the party of reform began. It aimed primarily at a reformation of the ritual, but back of the movement lay an era of emancipation which began with Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786). He aimed at intellectual liberation, primarily, realizing that the isolation of the ghetto was harder on the Jew than legal disability.

Hebrew occupied a still center in the whirl of German; Mendelssohn rendered into German many portions of the Torah. Ghetto culture was a concentrate in isolation; he established a Free School in Berlin for instruction in religion and in general culture. While he promoted reformation for his people, he was at heart a faithful Jew. Judaism was to him a revelation of the Law; this was its sole distinction. He was a man of the broader culture, believing in religion, but he saw no peculiar doctrines in his own faith; to him the Jewish mission was the conservation of the Law revealed by Yahweh to Israel alone. This was an historic circumstance in the life of this particular people. Religion

was one and universal, but for Jews the Law revealed to Moses was perennially binding; it was their chief glory. Mendelssohn, we may remember, was a friend of Lessing. The poet portrays his Nathan the Wise in quest of the truth beneath all creeds; makes a plea for kinship among all men despite divisions of religion; advocates love as the chief virtue in the thought of the Divine. Mendelssohn would have all who are "born within the house of Jacob" stay loyal to their natal hearth, but welcome truth wherever they may find it. He translated the Bible into pure German, the so-called "Mendelssohn Bible," together with a commentary so that Jews might know the language and the thought of the wider environment in which they lived. But Mendelssohn's importance is not simply that he made it possible for the members of his own faith to know and appreciate the German language and literature. He convinced German leaders of thought that Judaism as a system of religious law was compatible with the ideas of the time and was a constructive force in European culture.²⁷

Mendelssohn and others like him had in effect lowered the walls of the ghetto. They had freed themselves intellectually and were able thus to share in the cultural life about them. But in practice they remained orthodox, observing the laws of the Torah and the codification of rabbinical laws found in Joseph Caro's sixteenth-century manual, the *Shulhan Aruch*. The Reform Movement began in the first part of the nineteenth century as an attempt to lower the walls of the Torah. The ritual was modernized; the *Shulhan Aruch*, the Talmud, and parts of the Torah which were deemed unsuitable for the age were discarded; the dietary laws were considered no longer binding; and rabbinic laws concerning divorce were subordinated to the civil laws. The reforming pioneers set out to prove that Judaism was a religion susceptible to change and development, a vital faith capable of adjustment to the conditions and finest ideals of any age in which the Jew might chance to live.

Reform Judaism has had its greatest success in America and various attempts have been made in this country from time to time to state the tenets of the Reform movement. In 1869 a statement of beliefs was issued by a group of Reform rabbis which was later revised and released in 1885 as the "Pittsburgh Platform." More recently, in 1937, after several years of discussion and debate, the Central Conference of American Rabbis meeting in Columbus, Ohio, adopted a new statement of beliefs called "Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism." In the following quotation from a section of the "Guiding Principles" which deals with Torah, it will be observed that the emphasis is no longer upon adjustment but upon affirmation.

God reveals Himself not only in the majesty, beauty and orderliness of nature, but also in the vision and moral striving of the human spirit. Revelation is a continuous process, confined to no one age. Yet the people of Israel, through its prophets and sages, achieved unique insight in the realm of religious truth. The Torah, both written and oral, enshrines Israel's ever-growing consciousness of God and of the moral law. . . . Each age has the obligation to adapt the teachings of the Torah to its basic needs in consonance with the genius of Judaism.²⁸

Two problems have forced themselves into the thinking of Reform leaders since the formulation of the "Guiding Principles" at Columbus in 1937. One has to do with the relationship of Jews in America to the State of Israel, the other with the need within the Reform Jewish Community of an authoritative code of religious practices. A minority group within American religious life known as the Council for American Judaism has posted a warning against the idea that Jews everywhere are to be considered as members of a "collective Jewish nation which has its center in the state of Israel" rather than individuals giving their full loyalty to the lands of their birth or adoption. On this question a contemporary spokesman for Reformed Judaism offers the following comment:

With the lifting of the smog and the clearing of the skies, following the creation of the State of Israel, it appears that the position adopted

by the Columbus Platform best expresses the Reform Jewish idea of World Israel as a religious community, held together by bonds of faith and culture. While morally obligated to aid their brethren in the struggling State of Israel, Jews in all lands must continue to anchor their life in faith.²⁹

Tentative steps have also been taken in the direction of more definite guidance with regard to religious practices. The revised editions of the Union Prayerbook (1940, 1945) offer services of worship both in the home and in the synagogue for weekdays, Sabbaths, and religious holidays. Additional help is offered in such books as that on Reform Jewish Practice (1944) by Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof.³⁰

ORTHODOXY. From one point of view Orthodox Judaism, as a self-conscious organized movement within contemporary Jewish life, is a response to the rise of Reform Judaism. These two groups stand at the opposing poles of reference in Jewish religious life: revelation, considered as having been received at a fixed point in the past, and change or development. From another point of view, however, it may be and is claimed by Orthodox leaders that the movement to which they adhere antedates any divisions within Jewry and represents "the total Jewish tradition of living as determined by the basic Pentateuchal code of Moses, amplified by three thousand years of Jewish life in Biblical and post-Biblical ages."³¹

In a sense, "Orthodoxy" is a misnomer, because the emphasis within traditional Judaism is not upon doctrine but upon practice. Dr. David de Sola Pool claims that Orthodoxy stands for the *maximum* principle of Jewish life: "Orthodox Judaism, regarding the Mosaic code as divine revelation, gives theoretic allegiance even to those parts of it which can no longer be practically observed."³² Both the ethical and the ceremonial law are considered to be binding. The Sabbath is a day set apart. The dietary law is followed, with different sets of dishes for milk and meat foods. The religious holidays are strictly and fully observed.

Whereas Reform identifies Judaism with a "faith," and Conservative Judaism sometimes thinks of Judaism as a

civilization, Orthodoxy defines Judaism as a God-centered community. "As God-consciousness is the first requisite of any religion, so we Jews must symbolize in each experience our awareness of God" (Leo Jung). "Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people, which is a religious nation" (Bernard Harrison). The Bible is a sacred book. The Hebrew tongue is a sacred language. Palestine is a sacred land. Hence, Orthodoxy supports the Zionist movement, but with the proviso that traditional Judaism be the dominant pattern of Israel's religious life.

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. Conservative Judaism originated in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century, Zachariah Frankel (1801-1875) being generally considered the founder of the movement. The leadership of Conservative Judaism in America centers in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York which was founded in 1885 and reorganized in 1902. Solomon Schechter became president of the newly-reorganized seminary in 1901-1902 and is commonly regarded as the father of American Conservative Judaism.

What is Conservative Judaism? One rabbi states that the Conservative Jew is "the conserving Jew," one who conserves "the permanent spiritual and cultural values of Judaism" (Solomon Goldman). Conservatism plays a mediating role within American Judaism as a whole by putting emphasis upon the Law, but coupling it with belief in the development of rabbinical tradition. In keeping with its respect for tradition, Conservative Judaism stresses the importance of the Hebrew language, greater use being made of Hebrew in the ritual of the synagogue service than is found in the Reform type of service.

A characteristic mark of Conservative Judaism is its tendency to think of Judaism as a way of life or as a civilization rather than as a religion in the narrow sense. The movement known as Reconstructionism originated within Conservative Judaism under the leadership of those holding to this view of Judaism as a civilization. Reconstructionism may be said to have begun with the publication by Mordecai

Kaplan, a professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary, of *Judaism as a Civilization*, in 1934. The point of view is well described in the following statement:

Reconstructionism conceives of Judaism as a civilization with its own language, land, history, traditions, laws, religion and art. . . . It maintains that adherence to Judaism should no longer be judged by the acceptance of a creed but by participation in the total life of the Jewish people.³³

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Chapter 15

CHRISTIANITY

Christianity is infinitely varied, especially in its historic aspects. Fortunately, it is possible for the student to trace with accuracy most of the variations, for the strictly Christian records are abundant. Many early documents, especially, are precise and easily intelligible. It is not easy, however, to determine which is the fundamental theory or institution, and which the variations, and we shall find it somewhat difficult to answer, at any stage of our investigation, the question "What is Christianity?" or to say to what extent this or that form may be Christian. But we have an obligation to the former, which the present chapter strives to meet. We have no desire to press the latter issue nor to be dogmatic on it, although it proceeds inevitably from even the most objective interest in the former. Let the leaders of the many sects themselves tell us wherein they are Christian. Often, we need not contradict them; we may, at least, agree that they represent—or represented—aspects of the essence of the faith and called attention to some values other sects have disregarded, perhaps had not discovered. We may rightly be disturbed when any one division claims possession of the whole of truth for any age or for all ages. Truth has been too broad for the comprehension of any individual, for any fellowship, in a given time and place. Christianity is a multitude of elements in one.

The geographical extent of Christianity is at once suggestive of its wide variety; it shares the varied qualities of the whole world. Nothing but a Pentecostal demonstration (cf. Acts 2) would harmonize the world's diversities of race or make the many tongues of men intelligible to all. There would still remain the varied climates, skies, and scenery.

There are probably more than 800,000,000 Christians in the world, a total so great as to be of little value as a commentary on the faith itself, for generalization is inadequate, if not impossible, on institutions and ideas so scattered, even though they bear a single name. In such a total there are, also, at least three types of individuals: the genuine, loyal members; nominal and indifferent adherents; and many actively antagonistic, who prefer another name. The complexity is greater both in quantity and quality than it is in Hinduism, but Christianity has the more coherence; its tangible qualities are more conspicuous; it is more historical.

Christians fall into three main divisions: Roman Catholics, about 470,000,000; Protestants, about 200,000,000; and Eastern Orthodox, about 125,000,000. Differences are based on theories of the relationship of church and state, on methods of internal jurisdiction, on accommodations to the local situation, and on subtle changes in the common consciousness; most importantly, however, the differences inhere in ritual and creed. It is a question of authority, whether resting upon Jesus, the words of Jesus, the church he founded, the words of his apostles, statements of Christian councils, or interpretations by the individual. Christianity is vaster, more elaborate and formal than the faith of Jesus.

EXTERNALS. Christianity may be viewed externally; it has its outward forms and symbols, which represent the inner faith. There are places of public worship: meeting houses, chapels, basilicas, and cathedrals. They have their spires, towers, cupolas, and domes. The building may be cruciform, but whatever the ground plan, the crowning symbol is most frequently a cross. In outward form, the church may be readily distinguished from an Oriental temple, a Muslim mosque, or a Jewish synagogue. Its furnishings, also, distinguish it: the altar, font, figures in stained glass, icons, mosaics, images, scenes, and stations from the life of Jesus and quotations from the Scriptures. Public worship is participated in, or performed by, congregations of the faithful, as in mosques and synagogues. There is a service or a ritual, with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs; litanies

and other prayers; chants and processions; and usually a sermon or address. All of which will indicate in some way the Christian heritage. Like those of all other faiths, the Christians have their days of public worship. Like Jews and Muslims, they have a special weekly day of prayer. Like mosques and synagogues, the church has been peculiarly the center of activities for its constituency; recently, also, like them, it has been a center of formal religious education. Whence came the churches, their furniture and ritual? Whence the ministers and priests? Whence the scriptures and statements of the faith?

THE HOUSE OF WORSHIP. It has been a current theory that the church was patterned on the Roman house or *domus*. In reality, it had an Oriental derivation. "The type of the Christian basilica goes back to the sanctuaries used by the adherents of oriental cults," says Laing, perhaps to the sanctuaries of the mystery religions. Such a sanctuary contained an entrance space, an eastern door, a central hall (with columns), and an apse (the altar end, usually semi-circular) at the western end, with an image of the god. St. Peter's in Rome thus has an eastern entrance and a western apse, with the altar; but very early a change of custom ordained a western entrance and an eastern apse and altar, in the manner of shrines of the sun-cult, and possibly under the influence of sun-worship. There were analogies between Christ and the sun; in the figure of the sun, he had "risen with healing," had "shed light," etc.; and the Nativity fell on the date of the festival of the sun-god of Rome. Cathedrals, the seats of bishops, have followed this west-east orientation, but many other houses of worship are indifferently located, perhaps with some deliberate aim at nonconformity. Cathedrals have followed also the pattern of the cross, representing the nearest approach to uniformity among the many later types of Christian churches. The basilica, in the early days, usually had an open court, with a fountain in the center and colonnades along the sides; a transverse corridor of entrance; a wide, central aisle flanked by columns to set it off from narrower side aisles; a transept across the eastern

ends of the aisles, forming the arms of the cross; and an apse beyond the transept, commonly semicircular and extending from the central aisle. The Church of St. Paul in Rome, about a century old, represents faithfully this early, longitudinal plan. The basilica roof, early made of wood, was later made of stone, and notable developments occurred in vaulting, in the Romanesque and Gothic manner. In England, Gothic became the national style. With the centuries, the basilica grew in size and acquired additions. As the clergy grew in numbers and importance, the transept was increased, and a choir was interposed between it and the apse. For the cult of the saints, chapels were built around the sanctuary proper.

In the Christian East, especially Armenia and Byzantium, the Byzantine style developed, with the dome the most conspicuous feature. Retaining the western entrance and the eastern apse, the body of the structure was a huge central hall covered by a spacious dome. Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, originally a church, later a mosque, and now a museum of Byzantine art, is the great example of Byzantine style. St. Mark's in Venice echoes the eastern style, and the cathedral at Moscow, with its towering height and eccentric decoration, is dominantly Byzantine.

The parts of the early buildings were variously used in public worship. In the open court or in the entrance corridor, the penitents and new converts would assemble. The congregation stood within the sanctuary proper, the women by themselves, in the left aisle or in the gallery above it. The clergy occupied the transept, in the center of which then stood the altar. At one end of the transept was a pulpit; at the other end, a lectern. The bishop's throne (*cathedra*) was in the apse, raised above the benches of the lesser clergy. Adjoining the church were a baptistry and the clergy's houses. In Western churches today, the sexes intermingle, but in the Eastern, they sit apart. Penitents and recent converts are everywhere admitted to the sanctuary.

Many of the early churches had been pagan temples. Christianity inherited and appropriated many elements of

paganism. Among the converted Italian temples were a shrine of Apollo, at Nola; a temple of Hera near Croton, in South Italy, which had become the seat of Juno Lucina, made into a church of the Madonna; the temple of Augustus, which Tiberius had built in Rome; and the famous Roman Pantheon, or "Temple of All Gods." Many sites were renovated; on Monte Cassino, Benedict drove out with holy water the false god Apollo and established St. Martin in his place. Many of the rites of the Roman goddess Juno were continued in the worship of the Virgin Mary.

Meanwhile, ecclesiastical architecture, with its ritual and symbolism, developed somewhat independently. Or, breaking away from the pagan heritage of Greece and Rome, it developed forms in other lands in harmony with local situations or doctrinal requirements. The Baroque style, for example, was sponsored by the Jesuits for the church in Mexico. There have come to be many national types of building. While the Protestant Reformation was, in many places, a revolt of creed and polity, which did not greatly alter architecture, it was, in its nonconformist aspects, a thoroughgoing revolution. By choice and by necessity, there arose the chapel and the meeting house. In America, save for the uniform New England meeting house and the reproductions of cathedrals, there are countless churches without special form, whose variation may be in itself a monument to independence and to the right of private judgment! Where Christianity has gone in recent centuries in the furtherance of missions in India and the Far East, the churches have followed lines familiar to the missionaries. It is probable that, if the faith continues in these lands, the newer buildings will accord with Oriental patterns. Already there are churches in the style of mosques and temples. By similar suggestion, alterations will occur in ideas and ritual.

LEADERSHIP. Leaders and officials of the church are variously known as apostles, presbyters or elders, pastors, prophets, bishops, ministers, priests, deans, deacons, friars, rectors, vicars, curates, teachers and readers; and presiding elders, district superintendents, secretaries, archdeacons,

archbishops, cardinals, patriarchs, and popes. Each office has its own history and represents a special function of the incumbent. It may represent some theory of the church, its character, and jurisdiction. There is a view that the ministry is a priesthood, that the priesthood is an office, and that worship may be properly conducted only through the ministry. Or it may signify the priesthood of all believers, with no recognition of indispensable, fixed orders of the clergy. Among some, the layman is equal with the clergy in esteem.

CHURCH THEORY. Four theories have prevailed with reference to church polity (i.e., the character and function of the church):

1. The world or universal church. "The church is the kingdom of God on earth." There is a Catholic church, which is coextensive with Christianity. Both the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Catholic churches have claimed to be the universal church, although other churches have held as strenuously the theory of apostolic succession in their ministry. Perhaps the reorganization of the Eastern churches on a national basis has modified the theory of their character and function. Now for many centuries the Eastern church has shown few signs of universalism. The world church theory has identified, whenever possible, the church and state as one; it has made the church the state. Kings have often tried to use the theory toward political consolidation, possibly relying on religion as the means to unity. Akhnaton of Egypt devised a "reformation," joining within the "horizon of the disc" the altar of *Aton* and his own council-chamber. Moses, Muhammad, Akbar, and Elizabeth are among the rulers who have experimented with religion as an aid to politics, each of them desiring unity of rule. The churchman Augustine proposed a Roman ecclesiastical state, the "City of God." Christianity was to the Romans the one amalgam of the many elements within the empire, as Hellenism had been to the Greeks the culture which might bind such different areas as Athens, Alexandria, Syria, Parthia, Persia, and Bactria.

The world church theory magnifies the priestly office,

makes it indispensable. In consequence, the office is above the man who holds it. The man becomes, by ordination, the priest or minister; not in himself, therefore, but in his office, he finds power. All offices are joined in a system of succession, whether of rank or time. The humblest duly consecrated officer is linked ultimately with a patriarch, a pope, or some official head. And by a theory of apostolic succession, through the "laying on of hands," the connection is maintained presumably with Jesus, and certainly with "the inspired apostles, with Peter at their head."

2. The national church. All church members within a nation are subject to a national administration. It amounts to a close association of church and state, differing little from the identity of the two in the world church view. But the church is purely national, even though the state be an empire with colonies or a federation of independent states. The Armenian (Gregorian), the Abyssinian, the English, the Lutheran, the Welsh, and the Czechoslovakian churches are examples. The national church considers itself in direct succession from the early apostolate, tracing the rights of its clergy through the deacons in the church at Jerusalem, and the bishops ordained at other centers. Strictly speaking, the theory of the national church is qualified when there are organized and recognized dissenters. Certain churches, for example, the Methodist and the American Protestant Episcopal, are of national descent, although in no sense national. These two descended from the Established Church of England. The Methodist, although "episcopal," has its own distinctive government, but the Protestant Episcopal is governed like the Church of England.

3. The Presbyterian church. The entire church is a single entity, and should function as a whole, even as the membership of any local church should function. The Presbyterian theory posits a middle ground between episcopacy and congregationalism, between the government of the bishop and the independence of the local congregation. Government is representative, by election, in which laymen have equal rights with ministers. Local churches are united in a

presbytery. Presbyteries are associated in and governed by a synod. Over the church as a whole the General Assembly has jurisdiction. The local church is organized with presbyters or elders and deacons. Local affairs are controlled by the session, composed of presbyters. The pastor is a presbyter but not a member of the local congregation; he is a member of and responsible to the presbytery, which installs him in his pastorate. The Presbyterian church has no fixed orders of officials beyond its presbyters and deacons. The influence of the minister follows more from his own character than from his ordination. He is officially not unlike the Jewish rabbi. The system itself is democratic, but with an aristocratic touch. The Church of Scotland is Presbyterian. The system is extensive, flourishing especially in the United States and Canada.

4. The Congregational church. The local congregation is self-governing in the manner of early apostolic times. Emphasis is placed upon man's right to worship God directly without priestly intervention; the priesthood is dispensable. The church arose from Puritan and Separatist movements in Great Britain, in protest against Episcopal establishment, and in doctrinal and governmental deviation from Presbyterianism. Congregational-Christians, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Unitarians, and Universalists are examples. There are no fixed orders, save as certain customary proprieties are observed in the administration of the sacraments (baptism and the Lord's Supper). Each congregation is democratic and autonomous. The minister may be inducted into office by a vote; he may be installed by an invited council; but he is responsible directly to his own people; his character is the test of office.

While these four theories are chiefly governmental, they involve a great variety of doctrine. There are many views with reference to the character of Christianity, its scope, and the operation of the Christian spirit. We shall view such questions in a later setting. Political theory and doctrinal position are by no means always one. Doctrine cuts across the four divisions. For example, Disciples of Christ and

Methodists emphasize the individual's own immediate concern for the welfare of his soul, while Baptists join with Presbyterians to emphasize God's part in man's salvation.

SACRAMENTS. Christianity, like other faiths, has dramatized or vitalized its doctrines; it has its sacraments, especially baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The early Christians, Jews and Gentiles, observed the sacraments, but there were differing views of their significance. Often wonders were expected of them; at least, they were relied on for the bestowal of an inward grace. Some thought the rite of baptism to be a cleansing of the mind and a means itself of spiritual renewal. Some thought of the supper of bread and wine as magically beneficial. Others, more truly, it seems, considered baptism to be the outward sign of inner consecration, a public demonstration of the conversion which had already taken place within. These understood the supper to be purely a memorial of the Christ and an occasion of the fellowship and communion with him. Baptism was performed once only for each convert; the Lord's Supper was eaten frequently—weekly, as a rule—by all members of the church.

Seven sacraments, in all, came gradually into use, in contrast with the simple rites of Jesus and in extension of early apostolic practices. They had assumed a formal character by the third century at the latest. Each had its character either as material or activity, and each acquired in practice, at the hands of various officiants, a peculiar inner quality. These are the seven: baptism, the Lord's Supper, confirmation, ordination, penance, marriage, and extreme unction. The Roman Catholic church observes them all. The Eastern Catholic church officially accepts seven sacraments, but does not limit the sacramental power of the church to these seven "manifestations of the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit."¹ Protestants—except the Friends, who have none—have only two, baptism and the supper. A sacrament, in whatever church, is properly administered only by a duly qualified official, someone "in orders." The propriety of this

is evident, even to nonritualists. Christianity as a spirit does not live effectively without its formal agencies.

The death of Jesus became the one great sacrifice in Christianity. All Christians might appropriate its virtue. Since he had eaten the Last Supper with his disciples before his death, this meal in perpetuity has memorialized the great event. It has gone by other names also: the Eucharist, Holy Communion, and the Mass. In a nonritualistic sense the Lord's death upon the cross represented his complete spiritualization and the sharing of his presence with all believers. In like manner, the Supper as a formal rite is a sharing of his presence.

The sacrament of baptism represents for the believer the formal mark of entrance into the household of faith. One apostle designated it a burial with Christ and a rising with him to newness of life. If one were baptized without faith, as in infancy, the rite was not complete. And the fact that it was only once administered caused some to doubt whether its efficacy persisted. On various grounds, new sacraments developed.

Confirmation is an initiatory ceremony administered to the individual: by the Eastern church, following his baptism; by the Roman church, about ten years afterward; and by certain Protestant churches—although it is not a sacrament in their view—after one who has been baptized as a child has arrived at adolescence with instruction. It consists of the laying on of hands, and prayer, and in the Roman and the Eastern churches, of anointment with a balmy oil, the holy chrism. It implies—or else imparts, according to the view—a strengthening by the Holy Spirit and thus prepares the candidate for full communion.

Ordination applies, in particular, to the Christian ministry. It is the rite of formal appointment by which a person is authorized to perform public religious acts on behalf of the church. In the Roman, Eastern, Anglican, Methodist, and certain other churches, it obtains for the candidate entrance into the holy order constituted by the grace of apos-

tolic succession. In the Roman church, the succession follows from the apostle Peter, who, it is pointed out, received the primacy of office from Christ himself (cf. Matt. 16:18). In nonepiscopal bodies, ordination is simply the solemn introduction of the candidate into the office and the duties of a minister. In Catholic theory, the rite distinguishes the subject as a priest by an indelible distinction. In any church, it is performed but once upon any individual. There is, however, no common recognition among all churches of the validity of the acts of any of them. The chief office of the ordained minister, or priest, is the consecration, or the administration of the Lord's Supper.

Penance is an act of punishment for sin, preceded by confession and followed by absolution. In fact, this sacrament, according to the Council of Trent (1545-1563), consists of contrition, confession, satisfaction, and absolution. It rests within the authority of a bishop or a priest and has something of the force and precision of the ancient Jewish sacrifice. The steps of recovery from sin are well defined and reassuring to the offender. By Christ's own decree the church has power to forgive sins (Matt. 16:19; 18:18), except a mysterious "unforgivable sin" against the Holy Spirit. Grievous sins, such as murder, adultery, and fornication, were at first deemed unforgivable, but penance ultimately provided their forgiveness. Nevertheless, degrees of sin have been established by the church, with lines drawn between ritual offenses, moral evil, and moral turpitude. Penance removes the immediate guilt and the eternal punishment which the sin would have incurred. It will be seen, in consequence, to what natural proportions the confessional has grown in Catholic churches, and what influence is exerted by confessors.

Marriage, as one of the seven Roman sacraments, signifies a durable union between one man and one woman, established by an appropriate ceremony performed within the church, that is, by someone in holy orders in the Roman church. Divorce is, normally, not allowable. No priest may marry, and no married man may be ordained. In the East-

ern church, celibacy is the rule for priests of the highest rank, but a married man may be ordained to the ordinary priesthood (if his wife die, however, after his ordination, he may not remarry).

Extreme unction is administered to persons dying. As in the case of the Eucharist and penance, this ceremony is performed by someone of the rank of priest or higher. Through it forgiveness is mediated, even without penance, and recovery, if possible, is aided. The Eucharist may be administered; or, in emergencies, merely parts of the body may be anointed with consecrated oil (usually, the eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands, and feet). Burial always, if possible, is in consecrated ground and under the full direction of the church.

WORSHIP. Public worship may be free, with an order of services locally arranged, or it may be ritualistic, with a ritual prescribed by an authority. Naturally the Christian seeks to perform, in public, acts which God delights in, such as hymns and prayers and recitations from the sacred scriptures. Not unnaturally, many Christians have believed that God has prescribed certain forms whose observance wins his favor. At any rate, a ritual was devised in accordance with the various needs of worship (inclusive, in some instances, of the various sacraments). It was not possible for the Christian church to escape the need of ritual. On the other hand, circumstances have allowed for the accumulation of spectacular and elaborate forms. They have become to many Christians what the Law has been in Judaism, objects of supreme devotion. The nonritualist, with his spontaneity, may find peculiar satisfaction in the very directness and freedom of his worship. The ritualist, with his prescribed formality, may be equally as certain of divine favor. Some branches are highly ritualistic, notably the Roman, the Eastern, and the Anglican; while others, including Presbyterian and Congregational bodies, are notably informal. Differences of opinion have prevailed as to what constitutes true worship, and what its value is to worshipers. Historically, worship was at first comparatively simple. Jesus him-

self was devoted to the temple and the synagogue. Early Christians met for worship in any place available, including private houses. Justin Martyr (martyred between 163 and 167) has described the important early elements:

On Sunday, a meeting is held of all who live in the cities and villages, and a section is read from the memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets, as long as the time permits. When the reading is finished, the president in a discourse gives admonition and exhortation to imitate these noble things. After this we all arise and offer a common prayer. At the close of the prayer . . . bread and wine and water are brought, the president offering prayer and thanks for them according to his ability, and the congregation answering "Amen." Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one and partaken of, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of those absent (from the meeting). The wealthy and the willing then give contributions according to their free will; and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, the poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want.

This is merely one report, and may not tell the whole story, but its simplicity inspires our imagination. We see the major elements of worship: a Sunday meeting, scripture reading, a sermon, common prayer, communion, a freewill offering, and gifts to dependents and the needy. The only officers named are the president (doubtless an elder or bishop), and the deacons. From other accounts the more complete development may be reconstructed.

SCRIPTURE. Let us follow Justin's reference to "the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets," that we may get more acquaintance with the Christian scriptures, especially the New Testament. We have said that organization and creed have been the two separately controlling factors in the history of Christianity. We might now say the church and the Bible, although the church by means of its councils and its creeds has constituted itself the interpreter of the scripture. In the long history of Christianity the ultimate authority has rested now in the church and now in the scripture.

As Justin indicates, the nucleus of Christian scripture was apostolic literature. In the time of Jesus and amongst his people, the Jews, the authoritative scriptures were the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. Jesus on various occasions referred to these scriptures, sometimes with approval, but usually in contrast with his own teachings. He preached his own gospel. He himself wrote nothing which endured, being more intent upon the spirit than upon the letter. His sayings were remembered in men's hearts, and they interpreted them "as the spirit gave them utterance." The Pauline and Johannine writings (composed after A.D. 50) constitute more than one-third of the entire canonical New Testament, although some of them were lost. The gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke made up another third. By about A.D. 200 the canon was fairly permanently defined, with the line drawn, for the most part, between the authentic compositions of those who had "seen the Lord" and later writings which claimed authority.² An established canon was indispensable to combat the heresies which were springing up on every hand and to provide a scriptural basis for the faith. Since the canon was formed, writings by Christian authors have been confined to interpretation (a method analogous to the Jewish Talmud).

For the very earliest Christians, as for Jesus himself, the Old Testament was scripture. The words of Jesus came, however, to have an authority equal, at least, to the Jewish writings. His teachings were at first preserved orally, although the transition from oral to written tradition is now dated earlier than it used to be. The apostles taught orally at first. Their written teachings came as letters to distant churches concerned with various issues of organization and doctrine. Sometimes discussions were carried on by letter, for example, with the Christians in Thessalonica, who, with others of their coreligionists elsewhere, were looking for the "second coming" (cf. 2 Peter 3:10) and were troubled about the fate of several of their number who died meanwhile (cf. I Thess. 4:15). There were such problems as the relation

of the Gospel to the Law (cf. Gal. 3); the relation of Jewish and Gentile Christians; the propriety of eating meat slaughtered with a pagan ceremony (I Cor. 8); Paul's claim to apostleship (I Cor. 9); conduct at the Lord's table; the character of the resurrection; women's place in the church (I Cor. 11, 15); the dangers of heresy and apostasy (Col. 2:8; I Tim. 4:1; I Jno. 4:1); the relation of faith and works (Jas. 2:26); and many more besides—for a new spirit and a new movement must wrestle with many immediate and practical impediments, both without and within. Both as human documents, full of local color, and as religious treatises, these apostolic writings are of perpetual interest.

The day came when the earthly career of Jesus increased in vital and doctrinal significance in the mind of the church, and, in response, the gospels were composed. That is, "lives" of Christ were written in exposition of what must actually have happened. We have the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John written sometime between the years 65 and 110. Mark represents the basic account, with Matthew and Luke representing selections and revisions of Mark, with their own additions. Mark tells the story simply and directly, with an order of events more topical than chronological. He wrote for the information of the Romans, and dwelt much upon the acts of Jesus. Matthew wrote a Palestinian, and Luke, a Gentile record. Both include much discourse material in amplification of Jesus' acts. There were already various written sources back of these gospels, upon which the writers could—and did—rely.

In addition to the epistles and the gospels, there are other writings in the canon, for example, the Acts of the Apostles. It represents a second volume by Luke, written to meet the need of an authoritative record of the apostles' work. The prominent figures in the Acts are Paul and Peter, with emphasis perhaps on Paul, although the exploits of both are often paralleled. In the sequence into which the various writings of the canon finally fell, the Acts of the Apostles forms the bridge between the gospels and the epistles and is itself the key to an understanding of the

idea of the canon. If you would know the full list of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament in their canonical order as representing a certain relativity of religious importance, you may take up a copy of the Bible. The New Testament came to occupy a place with the Old as the fundamental Christian scripture. Between the facts and the truths of the Old and the New are indissoluble bonds. Indeed, one may discover by an association of the two an amazing narrative of progress in the history of religion. In the Bible as a whole one finds many persistent currents of tradition, such as the legal and the priestly (Moses, Ezra, and Peter), and the prophetic and the theological (Amos, II Isaiah, Paul, and John). The Bible is in itself a complete source-book for religion. The extent to which the Bible is used by the church, especially in services of public worship and for purposes of religious education, has varied from time to time and in accordance with the comparative value placed upon it as authority. During the second and third centuries, the growth of the church may be largely attributed to the uses made of the New Testament writings which were in the way of acquiring a divinity of character. In fact, one of the principles operating toward the formation of a canon was the general acceptance of the writings (other writings which to some churches seemed worthy of recognition were ultimately excluded because all would not agree upon them; sometimes purely local considerations entered in).

THE CANON. While we speak of a canon of sacred scripture, we should not be unmindful of the fact that after all there is no universally accepted form. There is, in reality, a Protestant canon of today, and a smaller, or a larger collection used by certain other branches of the Church. The Syrian church omits 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude, and Revelation. The Coptic church omits the Book of Revelation. The Eastern church includes in its canon many apocryphal, or "doubtful" writings (i.e., doubtful from the point of view of the Hebrew and the Protestant Scriptures), such as the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, I and II Maccabees, etc. The

Roman church uses the Vulgate, and includes, by a decree of the Council of Trent, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, I and II Maccabees, and III and IV Esdras. No formal, official decree of the Roman church had earlier (than Trent) fixed the limits of its Bible, this church having had a more urgent interest in its welfare as a body. In actual practice, no church ever uses its entire scripture. No Christian ritual has ever included the requirement, or the customary procedure, of a periodic public reading of the Book, as does Judaism for its Law, and Islam for its Qur'ân. Also, a lingering disposition has been shown to assign unequal values to the various contents. While some churches and individuals have believed, in theory, that "all scripture is inspired of God" (nevertheless, without the actual use of all of it), others have reserved to themselves some right of private or communal judgment. Martin Luther utterly rejected James. Alexander Campbell, one of the founders of the Disciples of Christ, believed that revelation could come only through the written Word (the Protestant Bible, he meant) and yet gave the New Testament a practical pre-eminence, at least, over the Old. And among Christians there have always been many to take literally what the scriptures say, making them not only an ultimate external authority but an authority to be precisely understood and followed. Other Christians have sought to understand the "meaning" and the "spirit" of the scriptures. There have been many versions and translations, a translation being in the nature of the case something of a commentary. The Old Testament was composed in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek. There is a Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint), a version in Syriac, and another in Latin (the Vulgate)—all made from the Hebrew. There are Syriac, Latin, Coptic, and other versions of the New Testament made from the original Greek. There is an interesting series of illuminating English versions of the Bible as a whole, including those of Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Coverdale (particularly the Great Bible of 1541), the Geneva Bible of 1560, the Bishop's Bible of 1568, the Rheims and Douai Bible of 1609 (the first Roman Catholic

Bible in English), the Authorized Version of 1611, the Revised Version of 1885, the American Standard Revised Version of 1901, and most recently, The Revised Standard Version of 1946 (New Testament) and 1952 (Old Testament).

During recent years, several versions of the New Testament have been made in modern speech and even in the colloquial. If it has been impossible for the church to reach complete agreement on the problem of the inspiration of the Testament in their primary tongues, it is even more impossible to decide about the inspiration of the versions. One version very convincingly makes Paul refer to "the sacred writings which are able to make you wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus," and to add that "every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work" (II Tim. 3:15-17). This is a careful statement, with several instructive qualifications. Paul wrote before certain writings appeared which came to be held sacred or inspired. The problem is not only one of inspired scripture but one of inspired persons. God early inspired persons who had not the ability to write; they spoke in the power of his spirit. The writings of inspired apostles were naturally thought to be inspired. No one, however, will claim that God has not inspired persons since, even though it were for no more than interpretation. The Catholics established the theory of the inspiration of the church. The Protestants, in their turn, established the theory of the inspiration, therefore, the infallibility, of the Bible. Both theories have of necessity been affected by dynamic and historico-critical views of all the facts in either case, for example, various discrepancies in the text, and many doctrinal inconsistencies, of the Bible.

PRAYER. Justin made reference to "a common prayer," or a prayer in unison. The church believes in prayer and makes use of formal prayers. Justin referred also to the prayer of the president (the presiding elder or bishop) made "according to his ability," probably *ex tempore*. Both ritual

and spontaneous prayer are recognized. Prayer has been an indispensable part of Christian self-expression; it has been at times the expression of an even more elemental mood. Jesus himself prayed. The apostle Paul commended prayer "without ceasing." To Jesus and usually to the early apostles, prayer was spiritual rather than formal; it was an act of fellowship with God, prompted by some need of power, peace, or happiness in God. It assumed that God was "nigh unto all who called upon him in faith" and was more anxious to bless men than they were to be blessed. The individual, confronted by his own peculiar need, might pray spontaneously in words of his own selection, or he might appropriate a commonly accepted form. The Lord's Prayer whose words are ascribed to Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount represents the earliest of such forms (cf. Matt. 6:9-13). During common worship, the use of formal prayers came to be the custom. The Lord's Prayer has been used extensively, and books of common prayer have been formulated. Many church fathers composed prayers for the various congregations. The Catholic church developed the elaborate ceremonial of the Mass, in which was provided a large place for formal prayers. The Roman Missal contains the liturgy of the Mass, standardized in the sixteenth century by the Council of Trent. The Mass is always celebrated in Latin, but the layman may follow it in translations in his own tongue, joining from time to time in common prayer. The Church of England has its Book of Common Prayer, finally revised in 1662. It includes the order for daily morning and evening prayer, with prayers and thanksgiving for various occasions. The Protestant Episcopal Church has used since 1789 a modification of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, omitting the Athanasian Creed and modifying certain portions of the ritual. The Presbyterian churches have their Book of Common Prayer, first formulated by John Knox in Scotland in 1562 and amended in 1661 by the Westminster Assembly. American Presbyterians use at their own option a Book of Common Worship, published in 1905, which includes forms of morning and evening prayer and forms for

use in connection with baptism, communion, marriage, and other services. The Methodist churches use a modern service book, at their option, including a form of Sunday worship prepared by John Wesley on the basis of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, with omissions, abbreviations, and modifications. Many American denominations use books of worship with prayers for regular and special occasions. Many ministers of so-called "nonliturgical" churches freely appropriate for their public worship the significant expressions used by gifted souls before them, lending to their own order the impressiveness of age. Original, inspired utterance is rare, although, as Carlyle once said, "Prayer is and remains the native and deepest impulse of the soul of man." One of the most impressive common prayers of the Christian Church is this prayer of St. Chrysostom (344-407), the greatest of ancient preachers:

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto Thee; and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in Thy Name Thou wilt grant their requests; Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

There is in the phraseology of this prayer nothing that is exclusively Christian. It rather represents an even wider faith, save as it is the prayer of a particular Christian preacher, and is used exclusively in Christian worship. The Christian Church was heir of the noble prayers of the Old Testament and of the Hebrew liturgy, which was peculiarly prayerful. The prayers of the Church are basically biblical, as is indicated by several phrases of St. Chrysostom; the historical connection cannot be denied.

HYMNS. Hymns also are characteristic elements of worship. Although Justin did not mention them, for in days of persecution worship was often quietly conducted to avoid detection, the use of hymns was common from the first, both in public and in private. They were not only a natural expression of the Christian spirit but also a method of doc-

trinal instruction. A history of Christian theology might be written from a study of the Church's hymns. The *hymnos* of the Greeks was a festival song to the gods or heroes. The term came to be applied to the Jewish psalm. In early Christian writings the Latin term *hymnus* covered all "songs with praise to God." The Psalter, the Jewish Psalms, was the church's first hymnbook; some sects have steadfastly refused the use of any other. From the fourth century, metrical hymns have been written; in due time many were admitted to the liturgy. Since the Reformation, hymns have been composed in great number for congregational singing, although in Calvinistic circles, psalm-singing only was recognized in worship. From about 1700, English hymns have been written and used in the Protestant churches of England and America. These hymns are expressive of Christian experience and social obligation. They are expressive of theology, although some have been used by congregations fundamentally opposed to their inherent doctrine; in the ecstasy of song, doctrine has been ignored! A standard collection of hymns may contain the compositions of Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, German Lutheran, Scotch Presbyterian, English Wesleyan, Southern Methodist, Unitarian, and other Christian writers, so cosmopolitan at last is hymnody.

THE MASS. No form is so distinctive of the Christian church as the sacrament or "mystery" of the Lord's Supper. It has held the central place in worship from apostolic times. Justin mentioned the "Eucharist," with its elements of "bread, and wine with water." The Greek term *eucharist* remains the normal name for the sacrament throughout Catholic theology, but is gradually superseded by the Latin *missa* for the whole rite, especially in the Roman church. At first, the rite concluded a church *agape*, or "love-feast"; but in time, it came to be, as now, a daytime, more or less elaborate ceremony, the center of the cultus. It is most elaborate, especially in the form called "high Mass," in the Greek and Roman churches. In the Roman church the Mass is both a mystery and a sacrifice, particularly the latter,

representing Christ's atonement. It provides for penitents forgiveness of sins committed after baptism. Baptism was especially important in the early church, when converts chiefly came from heathenism. It is important still in conversion "from the world." But the Mass supports the Christian; it is the sign that Christ continually suffers and atones for weak humanity. This doctrine of atonement served itself heir to the Jewish theory of sacrifice, and its ministers assumed succession to the Jewish priesthood. This Judæo-Roman theory is the very core of Roman Catholic doctrine, somewhat in contrast with the Greek's central doctrine of the Incarnation. It keeps men reconciled to God.

The Mass is very complicated, with minute rubrics (liturgical rules) to be followed by the celebrant and his ministers. The high Mass may be sung by a priest at a consecrated altar on any day except Good Friday. Normally, it is celebrated every Sunday morning and on feast days. The celebrant must be in the state of grace, fasting from midnight, free of censure, and he must observe the rules concerning the elements (unleavened bread and fermented wine), vestments, vessels, and ritual. At the time of the ceremony, the procession comes to the altar, at whose foot the preparatory prayers of contrition and supplication are said. The altar is incensed and the choir sings the prayers. If the *Te Deum* is said, the celebrant intones the *Gloria*, which the choir continues. After the responses "The Lord be with you" and "And with thy spirit," the collect of the day is chanted, followed by the Epistle read at the south side and the Gospel read at the north side of the altar. Thereafter, the deacon, with the subdeacon, goes in procession to the north of the choir to sing the Gospel. A sermon may follow the Gospel, followed, in turn, by the singing of the Creed. This ends the portion known as the Mass of the Catechumens. Next comes the Mass of the Faithful, introduced by the Offertory. The bread is offered to God by the celebrant, with prayer. The deacon pours wine, and the subdeacon water, into the chalice, which is then offered to God, with prayer. The offerings, the altar, the celebrant,

ministers, and people are all incensed; and the Secrets are said. The priest then bathes his fingers and recites the Eucharistic prayer in preparation for the solemn Canon of the Mass. This is the Communion, in particular, including the Lord's Prayer, the kiss of peace, the Agnus Dei (the "Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world"), the elevation of the bread and of the wine to signify their transubstantiation into the body and the blood of Christ. The Communion of the people follows, through partaking of the bread, if there are any who desire it, with absolution. After the choir has sung the Communion, there are further "greetings," and the deacon sings the dismissal. After a blessing, a prayer, and the Last Gospel (the first chapter of John), the procession returns to the sacristy.

HISTORY. We ask now more directly, What is Christianity? What is the faith embodied in these many forms? We must find the essence living in the forms it vitalizes. What is Christianity as a movement in world history?

Christianity, whatever its present claim may be on men so widely scattered, whatever the influences it may have exerted during nineteen centuries, rests primarily upon an historic person, Jesus Christ; it must be understood with reference to his life and teachings. It is one of nine religions living still, each founded by a person. This historic fact need not detract from spiritual reality, but it qualifies it. We happen not to have complete accounts of Jesus' life and teachings; the various fragments which we have are sometimes contradictory. His life was not set down in writing until years after the earthly phase of it had closed. Meanwhile, some impressions of the many who had been with him had altered, and some of those who wrote about him had various motives. Biographical details are mainly found in several gospels, chiefly those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. A gospel is a "God-story," a "good message" (*evangelion*, "evangel") concerning the dealings of God with men through Jesus Christ. Additional facts of Jesus' life are found in some epistles; but firsthand materials are meager. A few hours would suffice to read them all. Yet, far beyond

the miracle of the loaves and fishes, the volumes written on the basis of these fragments are impossible to number. The biography of Jesus has been ever in the making, including men's devotion and experience in every age.

There is one thing which unites all Christians and distinguishes Christianity from all other faiths. That is the central place of the person of the founder. For an understanding of Christianity, therefore, it is necessary to begin with an account of Jesus of Nazareth. The most important sources of information about Jesus are the gospels. The birth stories of Matthew and Luke have several features in common which have become a part of Christian tradition. They agree upon Bethlehem of Judea as the birthplace of Jesus, although Matthew implies that Bethlehem was the home of Joseph and Mary, while Luke states that it was Joseph's ancestral place to which Joseph and Mary had journeyed from Nazareth for census registration. Matthew and Luke agree also upon the virgin birth of Jesus, although nothing is said of this by Mark or John. Matthew and Luke also agree that the birth of Jesus took place during and presumably toward the end of the reign of Herod the Great (40-4 B.C.), and on the basis of this and related statements in the gospels it is customary to date the birth of Jesus not later than 4 B.C. and his death about A.D. 29.

After relating the birth and infancy of Jesus, and with the single exception of the beautiful lines of Luke 2:41-52, the gospels tell us nothing about the early years but lead abruptly to the baptism of Jesus by John. Yet our ignorance of the early years of Jesus' life is not so complete as at first it might seem to be. From Mark 6:1-6 and Matthew 13:55-58 we learn that Jesus was a member of a good-size family, consisting of four brothers whose names are given and sisters who are unnamed but of whom there seem to have been at least three (cf. Matt. 13:56, "And are not *all* his sisters with us?") in addition to Joseph and Mary. Jesus' saying about true relatives, found in all three synoptic gospels (Matt. 12:46-50; Mark 3:31-35; Luke 8:19-21) implies that members of his family did not fully sympathize

with Jesus in his later public ministry. Yet it is noteworthy that one of the brothers, James, also became a well-known religious figure, serving as leader of the Jerusalem Christian community after the death of Jesus. It must have been a deeply religious home to have produced two such influential religious personalities. While the early chapters of Luke cannot be considered as history in the strict sense, they may well convey accurately the spirit of genuine piety characteristic of such a home as that of Jesus in Nazareth of Galilee. The synagogue of Nazareth must have been an important influence upon the religious development of the boy Jesus, and perhaps the synagogue school, although it is not possible to say whether by this time such a synagogue as that in Nazareth would have had an elementary school attached to it. At any rate the synagogue itself was by its very nature a place of instruction in religion. The gospels reveal Jesus' familiarity with the written Scriptures as well as with the unwritten tradition of his people. In the light of these and no doubt other religious influences, Jesus came to experience in an unusual degree a God-consciousness which meant the giving of himself in a spiritual ministry to his fellow men.

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS. In the region of the lower Jordan, frequented by the Essenes and like-minded ascetics, John the Baptizer had appeared. He proclaimed the imminent coming of the Messianic kingdom and described himself as the forerunner of the Messiah. When crowds of people streamed out from Jerusalem and the towns and villages of Judea to see and hear this new prophet, John called upon them to repent of their sins and to seek baptism in the waters of the Jordan as a symbol of purification. The Messiah who was to come, said John, would baptize not with water but with the Holy Spirit and with fire. John's message was sternly ethical. He warned the people of the coming day of judgment and urged them to bear fruit worthy of repentance.

Jesus was baptized by John and the baptismal experience proved to be a moment of profound religious clarification

for Jesus, and it may have been at this time that he became inwardly convinced of his Messianic mission, although some scholars think the conviction matured at a later date. At any rate, Jesus said nothing of it to anyone at this time. Moreover, he did not begin his public ministry until after John had been arrested by Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee and Perea. Then, although he must have been well aware of the danger to himself from Antipas, Jesus began preaching in Galilee. The subject of his preaching was identical with that of John the Baptist: "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel." In the light of our knowledge of the deep unrest and the Messianic expectations of the day and of the revolutionary fervor characteristic of Galilee, it is not difficult to believe reports of widespread acceptance of and enthusiasm for Jesus' ministry. Jesus gained fame both as a sympathetic and powerful healer and as a teacher who spoke with freedom and authority. He championed the common people, the "people of the land." He may have had the following of some of the Zealots, at least at the beginning, since one of his followers was called Simon, "the Zealot," in Luke 6:15. Eventually he lost any Zealot support he might have had, since no full-fledged revolutionary could have accepted his statement, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mark 12:28). The Scribes and Pharisees appear to have withheld judgment at first, recognizing in Jesus a deep piety and genuine devotion to God. He was invited to eat in the homes of Pharisees, according to Luke, and on one occasion some Pharisees gave him a friendly warning that Herod Antipas wanted to kill him (Luke 13:31). In the end, however, the Pharisees and Scribes were alienated from Jesus by his freedom with their tradition and joined with the Herodians to oppose him. Much speculation arose about Jesus among the people (Mark 8:27 ff.). Some thought him John the Baptist raised from the dead. Others named him Elijah, the prophet most closely linked with the coming of the Messiah. Still others thought of him as one of the prophets. One of his disciples

acclaimed Jesus as Messiah, and that became the core of his disciples' faith in him, although toward the latter part of his ministry Jesus spent much time in trying to re-educate them in the true meaning of Messianic leadership. Jesus left Galilee behind him eventually and journeyed to Jerusalem in time for the Passover festival of A.D. 30. He and his disciples entered Jerusalem with traditional Messianic pageantry. It was apparently Jesus' intention to challenge the authority of the Sadducees in the very citadel of religious officialdom, the temple built by Herod the Great. "And he taught, 'Is it not written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations"? But you have made it a den of robbers.'" Those in charge of the temple immediately took measures to do away with him. Given a hearing before the Jewish leaders and asked, "Are you the Messiah?" Jesus answered, "I am" (Mark 14:62), and added, "and you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven." On the basis of this statement, according to Mark, Jesus was condemned for blasphemy in the hearing before the Jewish authorities and hastily taken before Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator (A.D. 26-36) who sentenced him to death as a Messianic agitator.

THE MESSAGE OF JESUS. Mark, chapter 1, verses 14 and 15, gives a brief summary of Jesus' message which is accurate as far as it goes:

Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel."

The subject of Jesus' teaching here, and in Matthew and Luke as well, was the Kingdom of God. This is the keynote of his thought as a whole. All of Jesus' teachings relate in some way to this subject. The parables of Jesus are all parables of the Kingdom. The Sermon on the Mount is devoted exclusively to the privileges and duties of membership in the Kingdom. And yet nowhere in the gospels does Jesus give the meaning of the phrase "Kingdom of God." There

is, however, a suitable explanation for what seems at first a strange omission from the gospels. The reason is that the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven as Matthew consistently words it, was something which needed no explanation for the Jewish hearers of Jesus. It was a dominant pattern of Jewish thought in the time of Jesus.³ The roots of the concept go back into early Hebrew history and the theocratic viewpoint, in which the nation was conceived of as being under the kingship of God. The essence of the kingdom of God is God's *rule*, or the reign of God, the proper response to which on the part of men is moral obedience. Thus in the "Lord's Prayer" we find in Matthew, chapter 10, verse 6, the line, "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." The primary reference is to God's relationship to men, not to a geographical place or to political dominion.

The eschatological framework of Jesus' teaching—literally the expectation of the "last days"—was a familiar feature of first-century Jewish expectation. This age of the world was to end, there was to be a great Day of Judgment, after which would come a new age, called variously the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Days of the Messiah. This was the familiar pattern. But there was an element of newness in Jesus' proclamation that the time was fulfilled and that the Kingdom of God was at hand. The Greek word used for time in Mark, chapter 1, verse 15 is *kairos*, which has a different meaning from *chronos*, time in the ordinary sense. *Kairos* refers to the fullness of time or the decisive moment. There was in Jesus' announcement of the Kingdom of God a note of urgency; the long expected moment had arrived. The Kingdom of God was *at hand*. Here then is a new emphasis in Jesus' teaching. The Kingdom of God is at hand; indeed, in some passages of the gospels Jesus implies that the New Age has already dawned.

There is a second element of newness in Jesus' view of the Kingdom of God. Jesus, like John, preached the necessity of repentance. The Greek word for repentance used in the gospels is *metanoia*, literally "a change of mind," which

is equivalent to the Hebrew *teshubah*, "turning about," "facing the other way." The preaching of repentance follows upon Jesus' announcement of the soon-to-be-realized reign of God over human life. It is in this sense a "theology of crisis." As Bultmann comments, "Now is the time of decision, and Jesus' call is the call to decision."⁴ The experience of God's nearness and the vivid awareness of God's reality and the fresh understanding of his character and purpose which go with this experience in the gospels demand a radical transformation of values. Both Jesus and John preached the necessity of repentance, but on the implications of this they parted company. John had accompanied the preaching of repentance with the requirement of bearing fruit worthy of repentance (Matt. 3:8; Luke 3:8), with the inference that those who have repented, been baptized, and have demonstrated in their lives the "fruits of repentance" will have earned their entrance into the Kingdom of God upon the coming of the Messiah. It is here that Jesus differs from John and from customary Jewish teaching of the day. In circles emphasizing strict observance of the Law, it was believed that the coming of the Messiah depended upon Israel's repentance and perfect fulfilment of the Torah. "If all Israel would together repent for a whole day, the redemption by Messiah would ensue." If Israel would keep the Sabbath perfectly two times in succession, the Messiah would come immediately.⁵ The truly repentant, together with the righteous, will reap their reward, is the teaching of the Talmud. Jesus puts entrance into the Kingdom of God upon a different basis. The initiative comes from God alone and has nothing to do with human merit and man's achievements. As Goguel describes it, "He (Jesus) does not say to his hearers: 'Repent and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance,' that is, 'make an effort which will make you worthy to enter the Kingdom of God,' but he says: 'When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants'" (Luke 17:10).⁶ The coming of the Kingdom and admission to it will be a free gift of a loving God. This precious gift will

be given to those who are morally prepared to receive it, and humble repentance, as illustrated in Jesus' Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican as well as in the first beatitude, is the basic characteristic of those who are spiritually fit.

Still another original element in Jesus' teaching is his consistent description of his message about the Kingdom of God as "good news." The Greek word for gospel (*evangelion*) was originally a common noun and meant literally "glad tidings," or "good news," long before it became a proper name for a particular type of religious literature. Here the vernacular translations, like that of Goodspeed, give the original meaning of Jesus' words: "The time has come and the reign of God is near; repent, and believe this good news" (Mark 1:15). The note of urgency in Jesus' preaching is then combined with joyous expectation, a fact which should not be overlooked, since it truly reflects Jesus' religious outlook and because it helps to account for the warm response with which Jesus was received by the common people of Galilee. A comparison between Jesus' manner of life during this period with the usage of John is instructive. Whereas John had practiced asceticism, Jesus renounced it. When a complaint was brought to Jesus that his disciples did not fast as did the disciples of John the Baptist and the Pharisees (Matt. 9:14-17; Mark 2:18-22; Luke 5:33-39), he replied with a comparison of his mission to a wedding and an occasion for rejoicing, not mourning: "Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them?" John had retreated to the valley of the Jordan and compelled those interested to search for him in those desolate regions, but Jesus sought men out in the places where they lived their normal lives. John preached the coming judgment of God and was a prophet of doom. Jesus interpreted the same event as the day of salvation, and the most common images of his teaching deal with this theme. They include the shepherd seeking his lost sheep, the physician coming to the sick, the messenger with an invitation to a banquet, and the like.⁷

The basis of this hope in Jesus' teaching and the fundamental part of his message was his knowledge of God. It is not the first-century eschatological framework of his thinking which really matters. The sudden end of the age anticipated by Jesus and all those who shared this ancient worldview never came to pass. The primary and enduring factor is Jesus' direct consciousness of God and his understanding of the character and purpose of God, with the moral requirements for human life which derive from that. The note of authority in Jesus' life proceeds directly out of an immediate awareness of the reality and nearness of God and of a special relationship on Jesus' part to him. This can be seen in Luke, chapter 17, verse 21, even though the Revised Standard Version translates it: "Behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you," and not, "within you," as the King James version had it. The passage still reflects Jesus' sense of the immediate presence of God.

Jesus' unique understanding of God grew out of his experience of sonship. He consistently spoke of God as Father, and it was his aim to lead others into the relationship of children to God. In the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus prayed, "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mark 14:36). Paul, writing to the Galatians, refers to Jesus' emphasis upon sonship and quotes the Aramaic word used by Jesus in referring to God as Father: "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, 'Abba! Father!'" (Gal. 4:6). This accounts for the fact that the unique emphasis of Jesus in his teachings was upon the divine mercy, the forgiving love of God. This does not mean that Jesus was unJewish in his way of thinking of God. Theoretically, Jesus' view of God was identical with the thought of Judaism in his day. It can be shown that the God of Jesus was the God of the Old Testament, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Matt. 22:32), Creator of the universe, omnipotent, holy, perfect in his goodness. And yet there is a difference of emphasis. As Klausner remarks, "The phrase 'Our Father, who art in

heaven' is so common in Talmudic literature as to render quotation superfluous for those with some knowledge of Hebrew . . . Jesus, however, makes far more use of such expressions as 'Father,' 'My Father,' 'My Father in heaven,' than do the Pharisees and Tannaim. . . ." ⁸ The special character of Jesus' teaching about God and its consequences in the moral requirements upon human life are shown most clearly in a considerable group of parables in which Jesus proclaims God's mercy for sinners and those generally regarded by religious leaders of the Jewish community as outside the pale of acceptance. Such are the Parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Lost (or Prodigal) Son, all found in Luke, chapter 15. Others are the Woman with the Ointment (Luke 7:36-50), the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:9-15), and the Parable of the Two Sons (Matt. 21:28-32). It is a fact of additional importance that each of the parables in this group was addressed not to the poor and sinful but to the Scribes and Pharisees, as, for example, Luke, chapter 15, verse 2, indicates. These are thus shown to be controversial passages in which the basic issue between Jesus and the Pharisees becomes clear. Here as in the comparison between the Old Law and the New in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:17-48), Jesus interprets the Law in terms of the spirit rather than the letter and calls for an imitation of God conceived in terms of love. Similarly, in the synoptic passage dealing with The Great Commandment (Matt. 22:34-40; Mark 12:28-34; Luke 10:25-38), Jesus interprets the whole Law in terms of the love of God and love of one's neighbor. Two modern Jewish scholars evaluate this emphasis of Jesus upon the divine mercy very differently, but both find in it evidence of a distinct originality. According to Klausner, Judaism could not accept the God of Jesus, because "He is not the God of justice," since "sinners and non-sinners, evil and good, ungodly and righteous, all alike are of the same worth in God's sight. It follows, therefore, that God is not absolute righteousness." ⁹ Claude G. Montefiore, on the other hand, referring to the parables of Luke, chapter 15, says the following.

Surely this is a new note, something which we have not yet heard in the Old Testament or of *its* heroes, something which we do not hear in the Talmud or of its heroes . . . The virtues of repentance are gloriously praised in the rabbinical literature, but this direct search for, and appeal to, the sinner, are new and moving notes of high import and significance. The good shepherd who searches for the lost sheep, and reclaims it and rejoices over it, is a new figure, which has never ceased to play its great part in the moral and religious development of the world.¹⁰

There is in Jesus' view of God a high degree of optimism, but as Goguel points out,¹¹ this optimism about God is saved from any touch of sentimentalism by a realism about human nature. It is optimism about God combined with pessimism about man. "If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him?" (Matt. 7:11). Jesus has no confidence in the ability of men to bring in the Kingdom of God by their own efforts, and yet, as Goguel goes on to say in the passage already cited, "The pessimism of Jesus regarding merely human effort is only equalled by his optimism when he turns to God. The idea that God could possibly be finally thwarted and defeated by the powers of evil never even enters his mind."

THE CHURCH. With Jesus what he was, simple, moral, and untechnical, how did the order of the church arise? We do not draw a line of demarcation between him and it; we are concerned, however, to adopt some device by which the organization of the church and the development of Christian doctrine may be accounted for. We must understand the formal order and the major differences within it.

While Jesus lived, there was thought of him alone; he was the dominating personality. His presence assured accord among his followers, often in spite of individual rivalries. When Jesus was removed, and as opportunities arose, the zeal, ambition, and ability of his many followers were manifested. The Diaspora, which involved the Christians with the Jews, was the sort of "scattering" which called for special leadership. Two men became conspicuous as leaders, Paul

and Peter; and on these two basic rocks the church was built.

PAUL, THE CHURCHMAN. Paul was unquestionably the foremost teacher of the early church, although Peter is the "key" to the major doctrine of apostolic succession. Paul was a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia probably between A.D. 1-10; he suffered martyrdom in Rome, perhaps in A.D. 64. His family were Roman citizens. He set out to be a rabbi, and pursued a course of study to that end. As a Roman Jew he was doubly hostile to Christianity and had some share in the early persecutions of the Christians. But he became a convert in the manner recounted three times in the Book of Acts, chapters 9, 22, and 26, and in Galatians, chapter 1, verses 11-24 (not to mention brief references to the conversion in other letters, such as II Corinthians, chapter 4, verse 6). Thereafter Paul spent thirty years in missionary service in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome. His theology was primarily an interpretation of his profound experience, but due to him is the recasting of the faith in terms of rabbinical and hellenistic speculation. Through him, Christianity shook off the Jewish Law, and, in spite of Rome, became a world religion. He established many churches and instructed them. He wrote at least eight epistles to them, wherein we may find these points in his theology:

1. Jesus is the risen Lord (*Kurios*) rather than the Messiah in the Jewish sense. He is the Spirit (*Pneuma*) of God, which fills the believer and through which the believer may be one with Christ. The risen Lord reveals the Spirit of God. Not so much the earthly life and words of Jesus, but the revelation of the Spirit, is important.
2. The death of Jesus is the most important earthly incident; it is the central fact of Christianity. The Cross is the great symbol of the faith. Christ died for all, an *atoning* sacrifice for man's shortcomings. God himself presented Jesus as a sacrificial gift (Rom. 3:21), by which men find it possible to be reconciled to God; or, else, Jesus, in obedience to God, offered himself as atonement for the sins of men.

3. Jesus has fulfilled the Law; the Law is abrogated. Henceforth, God keeps no books of debit and credit, not dealing with men according to their transgressions, nor rewarding them according to their righteousness; he is bountifully merciful. The "righteousness which is of faith" supersedes the "righteousness which is of the law" (Rom. 10:5-10). Man is justified by faith. There is no code of regulations for human conduct.

THE APOSTLE PETER. Simon Peter was the leader of the twelve, originally a fisherman of Bethsaida, on the Sea of Galilee. He lived at Capernaum. While not the first disciple to respond to Jesus, he first acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah (Matt. 16:13-23; Mk. 8:27-33; Lk. 9:18-22) and was first to believe after the crucifixion that Jesus had risen from the dead (I Cor. 15:5, a Pauline testimony). Rallying the disciples and the scattered followers, he became the leader of the larger church. According to one interpretation, Peter had been commissioned by Jesus as the foundation stone of the new community (Matt. 16:17-19). Peter disappears from the narrative of Acts after chapter 15. It has been conjectured that his departure from Jerusalem was final, and that after his visit to Antioch, Peter passed the remaining part of his life in Greek Christian churches.

Peter was unwilling to break entirely with the Jewish Law, but he favored the extension of Christianity among the Gentiles; his faith was Græco-Jewish. There were defects in his education; he had to be instructed in the matter of clean and unclean foods (Acts 10:9-16). He emphasized the office of the apostles and the function of the church, in contrast with Paul's emphasis on the Lord as Spirit and on Christianity as experience. Thus arises the theory of apostolic succession. This succession of apostles, bishops, and so on, became the guarantee of the purity of doctrine in the church, and an indication of things required for salvation. It was, further, an effective device against heresies and against the dilution of the faith by speculation. It lent itself eventually to the establishment of a hierarchy, or an epis-

copal organization, of the church. In other words, the church became custodian of the faith.

ST. JOHN. There is an early Johannine strain, also, although it is not always clear who "John" was. The church father, Irenæus, identifies the author of the Gospel of John as none other than John, the disciple of Jesus; but Papias says that the disciple John was martyred early with his brother James, before the book of John was written. We may believe that the same John wrote the Epistles of John and the Gospel, but it is difficult to believe that he also wrote the Book of Revelation, which belongs to an entirely different school of thought.

The Johannine theology, in any case, is a comparatively late development. It establishes the thesis that the historical Jesus and the Christ of faith are one and the same, although not dwelling so much upon the man as the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke do. It, however, takes into account more of Jesus' life than Paul's epistles do. It emphasizes fully Christ's divinity. The Johannine interpretation saved the faith from any wholly mystical interpretation, on the one hand, and from the current Gnosticism, on the other. There were many Gnostics—a motley crew, in fact—who proposed salvation by *gnosis*, mystical enlightenment, by way of the sacraments in secret; not by man's rekindling the divine spark within him, nor by a savior. By *gnosis* could man be saved from the sensuous, the sensual, and all cosmic evils; man's soul was held in prison in an evil world. There were Gnostic Christians who sought to universalize the faith through an eclectic philosophy which made knowledge uppermost, with Christ in the mythical role of an enlightener. John countered this by his exposition of Christ as light, love, and life; and by developing further Paul's concepts of Christ as the Wisdom (*Logos*) and the Love of God.

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH. Christianity as such began to form within the second century, although the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch in Syria in the first century. Its form and scope as a universal church represent the reconciliation of many strains. It arose, in

fact, from the crucible of a "world with fierce contestants filled," including Jews and Judaizing Christians, pagan philosophers and sceptics, initiates of the Greek mysteries with their own salvation, Gnostics, and adherents of the cult of emperors. Its compactness was increased by severance from Judaism, which had official standing; but it put itself thereby "beyond the law"; it had no standing in the courts. A long season of bitter trials followed. But by the fourth century the church had both a body and a soul with which to grow and carry on in a hostile world. Its soul was a quenchless yearning for a life distinguished from the world; it could not look with favor on a situation fraught with persecution, and it could not yield the doctrines for which it had to suffer. It gradually became ascetic, although preserving its high doctrine of Jesus as the savior of the world. Its body was a huge establishment with friars, priests, bishops, cardinals, and pope. It accumulated wealth, mostly property. It gained at last official recognition by the state. Many brilliant apologists and leaders were produced in these centuries, including Justin Martyr of Samaria and Rome (*ca.* 100–165), Irenæus of Smyrna and Lyons in Gaul (*ca.* 135–200); Tertullian of Rome and Carthage (*ca.* 150–225); Origen of Alexandria and Cæsarea (200–250), who made the first critical edition of the Bible; and Augustine of Africa (354–430). We must soon refer to them again. With Augustine, the firm foundation of the Roman church was laid. The East won prestige through the councils. At one great council (at Nicæa, 325), the emperor had presided, a creed had been adopted, and the troublesome Arian controversy had been settled for a while. We must trace the development of orthodoxy.

THE PERSON OF JESUS. The major issue between the Christians and the Jews was Jesus. It remained the major issue in the church. For the first disciples, Peter met the issue squarely by declaring, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." But the question everywhere persisted, "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he?" (Matt. 22:42; Jesus puts the question). Whose son is he? The title "son of God" had several connotations in the days of Jesus; it was

broader than the later Latin dogma of the virgin birth, for instance. It might imply some godly quality; it was applied to the Jewish nation and to Jewish kings as objects of God's love and power. The disciples used the term to mean Messiah, with a more ethical and religious connotation. Jesus was the Son, who inaugurated the Kingdom of the Father. Under Greek influence the Son became the *Logos*, Word of God, with a metaphysical quality beyond the figure, indicating that Jesus was begotten before time and had appeared by birth from a virgin mother. On Italian soil, the virgin birth was emphasized; there appeared the cult of the Madonna, analogous to and perhaps dependent on the veneration of Diana, a Roman virgin goddess. But not until A.D. 431, in Ephesus, was the virgin Mary designated as the Mother of God.

Judaism was not a fertile soil for the larger theory of Jesus' person; but Greece and Italy was ready ground, each with its own content to bestow. The movement on behalf of Jesus the Messiah acquired a philosophy (or, shall we say theology?) under hellenistic influence. It won for him an empire in the West, where Peter had implanted in practical and legalistic Rome a loyalty to Christ as the suffering Son of God.

CREEDS. The first official settlement of the controversy on the person of the Christ was made in Asia Minor at Nicæa. The emperor had become a convert, making possible an ecumenical council. Bishops assembled at Nicæa from all parts of the empire, 308 from the East and 10 from the newer West. They were to pass judgment as a body upon the heresy of bishop Arius of Alexandria. Alexandria was a university center, a cosmopolis of intellect. It had thinkers of renown and gloried in their controversies. There were Stoics and Sabellians, Jewish rationalists and Pharisees, Christian Montanists and pagan Gnostics. Arius (256-336) had been expounding heresy. He assigned to Christ an office and a character subordinate to God; the Son subordinated to the Father. Jesus was of a substance similar to but not the same as God. He acclaimed Jesus as the Son of God,

but in the sense of having been created; Jesus, therefore, was a creature and not God. He insisted that Jesus was the very first of creatures, but he held the philosophic notion that there was (a time?) when Jesus was not. Nor did he accept the Neo-Platonic Christian theory of Jesus as an emanation of God the Absolute, by which the Word (*Logos*) became manifest in flesh. In a situation teeming with ideas, Arius represented the belief in a unique God above the world, separated from it by an impassable gulf. He ranged the *Logos* and the Christ, who was the *Logos* incarnate, on the side of the world, apart from God. Alexandrian Christians, for the most part, however, were more orthodox than he. They believed in the one nature of God the Father and of the Son, Jesus, and in their identity of substance. This made clear the office of Jesus as their Savior. Jesus was divine, and the incarnation of God; he was the symbol and expression of the immanence, or indwelling, of God in all creation. These Alexandrians seemed to be out-doing even Paul who believed in Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of God, pre-existent in association with God, the agent of God in a cosmic redemption, and himself the archetype of redeemed humanity. They were even more Johannine than John, and beyond any Petrine stage of dogma. Jesus was himself the uncreated God, the Son, of one nature with the Father, and therefore had absolute power to save men from decay and to give them immortality. The Alexandrians, when they realized what Arius was preaching, could not tolerate him. They called a local synod and condemned him. But since he represented a more than local heresy, the council of Nicæa tried, condemned, and banished him. Thenceforth, his theories spread among the pagan Goths and Vandals, for the early Unitarian Arians were enthusiastic missionaries. Indeed, several times the views of Arius prevailed at the imperial Roman court, and he would have been restored to honor had he not died the very day before the one set for his restoration.

Athanasius (293–373) happens to be famous as the champion of orthodoxy. He was Arius' chief opponent at the

Council of Nicæa. While actually present at the council, he was then only a deacon. He has been called "the first ecclesiastical Prince of the grand style"; but his name is inaccurately associated with the well-known Athanasian Creed. After the Council of Nicæa, while Bishop of Alexandria, he became conspicuous as the leader of the party which professed belief in the anti-Arian doctrine of Christ as "of one substance" with God the Father. But he held no easy sway nor an uninterrupted term of office. He was expelled five times and five times reinstated by an emperor whose own orthodoxy was never certain. Orthodoxy had not fully been established. The Athanasian Creed, which represents the trinitarian position in its most uncompromising form, came later, apparently reflecting the theological opinion of the Latin churches in Gaul, North Africa, and Spain.

The controversy over the person of Christ was not effectually adjusted until the Council of Chalcedon in Asia Minor, A.D. 451, which added certain phrases in elaboration of the Nicene creed, making clear that:

1. Christ is fully God and fully man, of the same nature with God, both in his humanity and in his divinity.
2. He is divine, begotten of God; he is human, born of the virgin Mary.
3. He was begotten before all ages, and in these later times, for man's salvation.
4. He is like men, save that he alone is sinless.
5. He is to be acknowledged in two natures, distinct yet indivisible, inseparable, and not to be confused or changed.
6. Mary as his mother is the Mother of God.

While this council met on Greek soil, and while its six hundred bishops were mostly Greek, its findings were accepted East and West. The church assented generally, also, to its condemnation of the heresy that Jesus had one nature only, after his birth or incarnation. The heretics (Monophysites) themselves disagreed about this single nature, whether it was human or divine; the controversy lingered for a century and a half.

THE EASTERN CHURCH. The unity of Christian order and belief was destined to disruption. There were fundamental differences between the East and the West. It was not a matter of geography, although this entered in. Many differences were circumstantial; but there were fundamental differences of mind. There are Eastern and there are Western modes of thought, although one may detect three currents moving in the early centuries in the Church at large, each playing an important role, the mystico-historical, the metaphysical, and the sacramental-mystical. The first two flourished in the East; the last prevailed in Rome.

The Eastern Church (Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Balkan, Palestinian, Indian, and Russian) is directly apostolic. Its branches sprang from the original soil; it was one in the beginning. Its congregations have descended from churches founded by apostles or visited by them in connection with administration. Its tongue was Greek, the language of the eastern Mediterranean; its documents were Greek; its great theologians wrote in Greek; its members were imbued with hellenistic culture. It passed on the bulk of its theology to Rome; the Western church counts among the Fathers, Polycarp, martyred at Smyrna in 155, and among the saints, John of Damascus, who died in 754. The early, universal councils were held in Eastern territory, dominated by Eastern bishops. The early trials and bitter persecutions occurred on its soil. It has accounted itself custodian of orthodoxy; it calls itself "The Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church."

On the other hand, the Eastern church was the scene of almost all the early heresies; the Eastern mind is highly controversial. Its theology developed out of controversy. It persisted in debate in spite of violence and ridicule, and won for speculation through the categories of Greek thought an honored place in Christianity. Yet, having passed on priceless gifts, it fell into inertia. By rejection of the growing claims of Rome, and through a final separation, it fell into isolation, without an independence of its own; it has been subservient to the state, its patriarch taking orders

from emperor, king, czar, sultan, and president, in succession. While it has maintained a peculiar unity of faith, its moral character has waned and its organization has been rent by politics.

The Eastern ritual is lengthy, varied, and elaborate, and its preaching is of a controversial character. Worship centers on the Eucharist, or Mass, in connection with which the church holds the doctrine of transubstantiation;¹² the "substantial" body and blood of Christ, along with his divine spirit, are present in the bread and wine of the Supper after their consecration at the altar. Except for the icon or crucifix, no images are used in worship; instead, pictures are used, since it is thought they offer no such possibility of spiritual embodiment as a rounded image does. The Bible is an open book, much used, and recommended to the laity; but prevalent illiteracy among them has prevented its wide reading or close acquaintance. Monasticism is maintained, and the bishops are chosen from the monasteries. Celibacy is required only of the bishops; to become a bishop, one must never have been married. Celibacy is the rule for all clergy *after* ordination, save for priests and deacons married before admission to the order.

The Eastern church has not been "missionary"; it has been content, usually, to maintain itself by natural extension; it has never sought, for example, the conversion of Islam. The one notable extension beyond the Near East—and Russia—into India came early amidst the general spread of Christianity. In South India, some "Thomas Christians" still observe the forms of thought and ritual which characterize the mother church.¹³ The Doukhubors of Russia and Canada are an Eastern sect of puritans who rejected the episcopacy and sacramentarianism. The fortunes of the major branches have varied. The church in Russia and in Turkey has suffered much from Soviet and Kemalist iconoclasm.

THE WESTERN CHURCH. Western, or Latin, Christianity rests upon the common base but may be traced as a distinctive movement. Its separation from the East began in doctrine and was confirmed by political expediency.¹⁴ As early

as 190, the Roman Bishop Victor excommunicated the Eastern churches, because of controversy over the time of the Easter festival. In 1054 came the final, embittered separation, when the "Universal Archbishop" (patriarch) of the East closed all churches of the Latin rite within Greek territory, making it impossible for marriage or funeral services to be performed among them. The Roman pope in turn excommunicated the Eastern patriarch again for the last time. The divided jurisdiction has since prevailed, although recently certain cordial greetings have been exchanged between the churches.

Latin Christianity began in North Africa, at the opening of the third century, with Tertullian (*ca.* 150–225). He was a Roman lawyer of Carthage, a convert to the faith, for which he composed a brilliant apologetic. Later he became a Montanist, or follower of the monk Montanus, an Asia Minor prophet of the second coming of Christ. Montanus proclaimed himself the "Spirit of Truth" (*cf.* John 16:13), emphasized the practice of asceticism, and was the first to distinguish between venial and mortal sins. Tertullian was the head, for a while, of the Montanists of Carthage, and the first church father to write his works in Latin. As a Roman, he knew Stoicism, but the only Stoic tinge to his theology seems to be the idea that the soul of man is corporeal and is procreated. He was far from hellenistic, on the whole. Christianity was not a theory of Jesus' person, his nature, or his incarnation; it was a change of heart, and an absolution from one's sins. He did not dwell upon the escape of a man's soul from the prison of an evil body or from death, but on man's escape from sin. He was legalistic. He emphasized the heinousness of sin and the need of divine grace for its forgiveness and man's redemption. Sin was a quality of man's original nature—man was born in sin—which must be eradicated by the grace of God, and man's own good works, including confession and self-mortification.

Tertullian thus anticipated many of the doctrines of the Roman church, even using the term "Trinity" in its later

sense. His exposition had special influence upon Augustine, who gave to Latin Christianity its formal character.

AUGUSTINE. Aurelius Augustinus (354–430), the son of a pagan father and a Christian mother, was born in Numidia, Roman North Africa. He became one of the most influential men of Christian history; he established the Church of Rome on its firm, never-yielding foundation; he supplied interpretations to the later Protestants. With his name are associated the familiar doctrines of original sin, predestination, divine grace, the Trinity, and the seven sacraments. He passed three crises, two intellectual and one moral, on his way to eminence. He was for nine years of study and teaching in Carthage and Tagaste an “auditor of the Manichæans,”¹⁵ whose faith had reached the West. But, baffled by their subtleties, he became a sceptic. He went to Rome, where he encountered Neo-Platonism;¹⁶ thence to Milan, as a teacher of literature, retaining his interest in Neo-Platonic speculation. This philosophy freed him, at least, from any vestige of Mani, save sensual indulgence: he kept a concubine. He became a pupil of Bishop Ambrose of Milan, learning morality and Christian doctrine. Through Christian Neo-Platonism he banished sensuality and scepticism, finding peace and an undivided will. His conversion to Christianity included celibacy. He returned to Africa in 390 as a presbyter, and from 395 he was bishop of the church in Hippo. At that time the Roman church enjoyed renewed prestige, for in 380 the Emperor Theodosius (in Constantinople) had declared the Roman faith the test of orthodoxy.

Augustine's theology came mainly from the epistles of St. Paul, although the predestination which his legal mind found in them did not fix itself upon the church until emphasized by Anselm in the eleventh century and John Calvin in the sixteenth. He was at first inclined to think that man and God cooperated in man's redemption, but remembering his own crises, he came to assign all power to God. He even held that the faith needed for redemption came from God. God is the only independent Being, altogether good. He

creates and maintains ¹⁷ whatever goodness is in man. Man is born in sin and lives in sin if he lives apart from God; evil is separation from the good. Man is saved by God's election and God's grace; divine election is the only ground of individual salvation. The sacraments of the church, however, are the channels of God's grace. Original sin in infants and non-Christians must be purged by baptism. The Mass maintains the Christian life. The church alone administers the sacraments; salvation, therefore, is proved through the church alone. The church is the divine empire, the City of God; human empires rise and fall, but the church endures. In 445, fifteen years after the death of Augustine, and nineteen after the publication of his *City of God*, the emperor recognized the pope as not only first in ecclesiastical honor but also supreme in civil jurisdiction.

By the fifth century, Christianity, having achieved notable success throughout the Roman world, was conscious of the fallow fields of barbarism. Having triumphed in the realm of pagan culture, it would wrestle with the pagan peoples who from every side were penetrating Rome. There would be one Christian culture, whatever happened to the empire. The sturdy pagans would serve the church; the doom of Rome would be the church's opportunity, for Christians had declared "a war in which there should be no compromise and no peace, until Christ was Lord of all," until the gods of Rome, and the emperors as gods, were vanities. The passion of the church for the triumph of its Lord had sent its members everywhere, among the high and low, into palaces and military camps, to slaves and temple-women. They faced angry mobs without fear, at peace with God. It was a glad, even a "hilarious" spirit, said Augustine, which bore them on, even the clean, conquering spirit of Jesus. Now they would face with confidence the new tide which surged upon them. In spite of peril, fire, and sword, the church assumed with notable success its obligation to the material conquerors of Rome. By the fifth century it was an institution in its own right, brooking no interference from the state, imbued with an imperial ideal, inspired by the theory of

universal rule. It had served notice, even in Augustine's *City of God*, that temporal rule would be subjected to the church. This is the fundamental theory of the papacy; this dictated the church's policies as it made its way through confusion to consolidation and reform. The world church was in process of actualization. The pattern had been cast for the resolution of the Middle Ages.

But the task was staggering for a thousand years, whether struggling with earthly potentates—for the state continued—or leavening the masses of "barbarians." There were dark centuries; from the fourth to the fourteenth, the church extended its dominion throughout Europe, establishing new channels of grace, yet suffering inevitably—although not always consciously—a certain slow dilution of many of its higher doctrines. The year 1000 was a special trial; there was a widespread notion that the world was coming to a tragic end; this sort of notion runs in cycles everywhere. The terror passed; it may have added fervor to religion. There had been an early European base; the faith had been established within apostolic times, tradition says, in Britain, Spain, and Gaul. In the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, the Arian Goths and Vandals, who had overrun the West of Europe and North Africa, were reclaimed (converted to the Athanasian faith); Burgundians, Franks, British Celts and Saxons, and the Swiss became converted.

In the centuries succeeding, Irish and English monks crossed as missionaries into Friesland, Saxony, and Bavaria. Northward, the faith soon spread among the Danes and Scandinavians; eastward, among Moravians, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Poles. During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the eastern Baltic peoples were converted, Lithuania being the last European country officially to announce its conversion, in 1386.

A thousand years were time enough for complete conversion, but it does not appear that the masses were wholly spiritually transformed; they accepted their new faith largely at the dictation of their rulers. Popular Catholicism, therefore, embodies many theories and practices presumably dis-

carded, for example, the cults of St. Nicholas and St. George. Indeed, the converting agencies had brought with them many elements derived from Oriental, Greek, and Roman paganism; witness the stream of holy relics which poured in from Italy. In these areas of ruder culture, the legalistic, dogmatic, and sacramentarian character of the church found ready nourishment. Meanwhile, the extension was consolidated and maintained by rites and sacraments, especially from the sixth century on, in charge of many monkish orders. In all strategic centers cathedrals, churches, chapels, and monasteries were built; and daily the sacrifice of the Mass and prayers and readings were performed. These tended to develop a monastic ritual of perpetual prayer; and the litanies of the saints and of the Blessed Virgin were elaborated; and responses, hymns, and chants were freely introduced. An elaborate calendar was formulated of holy days, saints' days, feasts, fasts, and confessions. The procession of the consecrated bread and wine was instituted (in the eleventh century). A liturgical unity and a common mind were gradually developed throughout Europe. It was a notable achievement.

MONASTICISM AND THE FRIARS. Monasticism played a leading role. Having flourished in the East during the third and fourth centuries, it was introduced at Rome about 340. It caught the West's imagination. Jerome, editor of the Latin Vulgate Bible, one of the four "doctors" of the Roman Church, wrote glowingly in praise of it, while Bishops Ambrose of Milan, Martin of Tours, and Augustine of Hippo constructed monasteries. The movement seemed providential; with worldliness in the church, increasing wars under the leadership of churchmen and the allied nobility, and disorder increasing everywhere, many Christians renounced the world, finding refuge in the monasteries. As the church expanded into Europe, the monks became the bulwark of the faith, many of them becoming as conspicuous in their active ministry among the people as certain Eastern saints were famous for their isolation. The Western monk renounced the world but labored in it; the crown of Eastern

monasticism was the hermit, observing labor, fasting, and prayer in solitude. Among the noble host of Northern brothers of the Rule were Martin of Tours (d. 396), Patrick of Ireland (d. 461), Cuthbert of England (d. 687), and Boniface of Germany (d. 754).

The Rule was founded by Benedict of Italy (480–542), who built a monastery at Monte Cassino. By the tenth century, the Benedictine order was dominant throughout the West, with thirty-seven thousand monasteries. It imposed a lifelong vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience; limited the daily round to the monastic precincts; proscribed the use of meat, except in case of sickness; provided a daily round of manual labor and a daily period of public chants and prayer; and encouraged learning. It was an extraordinary demonstration of world-renunciation, which in time acquired control both of the church and of the world; it supplied the church its bishops, cardinals, and popes. But in the end, its very worldliness, coupled with its communal isolation, brought about its fall. Other orders were established, for the sake of unworldly participation in the church's work; for example, the mendicant friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans of the thirteenth century, and the Jesuits of the sixteenth. The Grey Franciscans were bent on practical helpfulness; the Dominicans were zealous to defend the faith; the Jesuits were organized to combat the Protestants. Other orders had preceded them, some to make monastic ideals chivalrous; for example, the twelfth-century Bernardine "poor soldiers of Jesus Christ," the Knights Templar, defenders of the shrines and pilgrims in Palestine, and the Augustinian Knights of St. John, established from among the Hospitalers. With such orders, monasticism had "passed out of the cell forever." We are yet to see what wealth of resources and power in politics and religion they acquired in their day.

In contrast with monasticism, the church itself continued its direct assault upon the world; through the pope, especially, it kept up its contest with the state. The object of the struggle was, ostensibly, reform; in reality, the goal was

church supremacy. In the tenth century, both the empire and the papacy were established institutions, but neither had then its own clear field of jurisdiction. Paralleling the orders of the church, through which the church survived, feudalism came in time to aid the state. While it represented social segmentation, gave power to the usually brutal few, and reduced the masses to despair, its individualistic aspects saved the state.

From 1000 A.D., the burning question was, What can the church accomplish for mankind and governments? The social situation called loudly for reform; the masses needed safety from disorder and relief from servile toil; rulers too readily engaged in devastating wars; not only were the private wars of Christians embarrassing, but their drain on public morals was appalling. The church alone could be the means of reformation, if it would likewise set its own house aright. It represented the only comprehensive order of the day; there was no other voice to which the whole of Europe might attend. It had ventured to interfere with wars; in 990, in connection with the anticipated Day of Judgment, it had proclaimed a Truce of God, first in France, then in Flanders, Germany, and Italy. But to be effective, the church must be supreme; the churchman of the hour was Hildebrand of Cluny; he would be the agent of reform, consolidation, and supremacy.

A commoner, Hildebrand was sorely troubled by the chaos in society, by the tyranny of the nobles, and by much corruption in the monasteries. The Benedictine monasteries, in particular, had grown immensely wealthy; amidst luxury, the rule was scarcely kept. As early as 910, the monastic House of Cluny had been established in protest against these evils; Hildebrand became a member in 1047. Two years thereafter he was called to Rome, to be associated with the popes, before whom he resolutely championed Cluny principles. Becoming pope in 1073, after having served as cardinal, he carried on reform for a dozen years. As a cardinal, he had procured legislation whereby popes were nominated only by the cardinals. As Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085),

he added dignity and power to his office. He opposed the investiture of the clergy by the emperor and feudal lords; many bishops and archbishops were vassals of the kings, landed proprietors through royal generosity. He opposed simony, so-called from Simon Magus (Acts 8:9-24); many churchmen had bought their offices from kings. Gregory issued, in 1075, a decree that feudal investiture and ecclesiastical simony should cease. He opposed indulgences; but they were not checked until 1562 and have never been abolished altogether.

PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY. Further, Gregory aimed at sovereignty; he would establish "the principle beyond dispute that the pope, as viceroy of God, was above all earthly rulers." When Gregory issued a decree to this effect, Henry IV of Germany, the Holy Roman Emperor, treated it with scorn. The pope summoned the emperor to Rome, but the latter, although somewhat weak at home, resisted. The pope banned him and deposed him and when he came submissively to Canossa restored him. But the tables were soon turned, and Gregory, humiliated by imperial decree, died an exile in Salerno. The dispute, however, was not settled; it was later compromised at Worms (1122), after which the popes, exclusively, bestowed religious offices, and the kings, the rights of property and office in the state. Nevertheless, Gregory had put new life into the papacy, extending its prerogatives, and marking the path by which it reached its zenith under Innocent III (1198-1216). He had been more immediately successful in clerical reform. He decreed that all clergy should be celibate; he banned their marriage as a sensual entanglement; since his time, celibacy has been the rule with clergy as with monks.

Innocent III was able to make a political reality of the papal theory of both temporal and spiritual supremacy; yet within the church itself were many, notably the friars, who realized that power as well as wealth was dangerous. The ideals of the "begging friars," Franciscans and Dominicans, ran counter both to material worldliness and political imperialism. The papacy had gained ascendancy because of

the obvious need of the control of social forces. When the so-called Crusades¹⁸ renewed the intermittent struggles between Europe and the East, the church with its prestige became their sponsor. Individual independence, once manifest, was no longer tolerable. Even the new social movements, such as merchant guilds, commercial leagues, and universities needed and assented to the church's moral leadership. But still another factor was emerging, the middle class, somewhere between the haughty noble and the groveling serf, somewhere, likewise, between temporal authority and ascetic isolation. The friars may be viewed against the background of the middle classes, and the scenes of common life.

The friars' motive was not so much the good of their own souls as the nobler aim of service to their fellowmen. They were not interested in the prelacy nor in the nobles, but in the common man. Yet they were true churchmen, defenders of the faith. The Dominicans especially strove for doctrinal purity among the masses. Oddly enough, the Inquisition was entrusted to them, and they became *oppressors* of the common man; there is often much confusion between heresy of doctrine and heresy of heart. Dominic (1170–1221), a Spanish intellectual, was commissioned by the Pope (Innocent III) to preach among the Albigensian heretics of southern France.¹⁹ Convinced that ordinary parish priests, and monks in their seclusion, could not deal with living heresy, Dominic organized his black-robed friars. They went about barefoot, in utter poverty, preaching informally, teaching the earnest, and confounding heretics. They trained many good preachers and skillful controversialists, of whom Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274), the great schoolman, was perhaps the most distinguished. Many teachers in the universities were recruited from the order, which was composed generally of members from the higher social classes.

The Grey Friars, or Franciscans, followed more closely the ideal of life found by losing it in service. They were more "spiritual" than their black-robed brothers. They, in par-

ticular, became the foreign missionaries of the church. As an order, it began with the Italian monk Giovanni Bernadone, better known as St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). Born in Assisi, of a rich father and a noble mother, he was, in his youth, a prodigal, given to indulgence, fond of wine and war. Overtaken by illness, his mind was wholly changed; he had visions. He had not liked his father's business; he may have come under the influence of Peter Waldo,²⁰ who renounced great wealth, adopted poverty, and preached among the masses; his visions may have been the climax. He took literally the command of Jesus to surrender goods and to preach to those in poverty and need. He became the symbol and exemplar of rigorous asceticism, joyous mysticism, and self-denying service. He tried to re-enact the life of Jesus. Like-minded idealists attended him, serving the lepers by the city walls, tramping through the countryside, ministering anywhere to the sick and sorrowful. He believed that laymen sworn to poverty, chastity, and obedience, living by alms and manual labor, might be the saviors of society. For a while, St. Francis was averse to any formal order but soon saw that if the movement were to be effective it should be organized. The order was recognized in 1209 by the pope. While many of the early "brothers" were humble, even ignorant, men, the order ultimately included many intellectuals, among whom were Roger Bacon (1214–1292), the English *doctor mirabilis*, and Duns Scotus (1255–1308), of Oxford, Paris, and Cologne. Franciscan influence was enduring. Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, written in 1441, is in the mood of the simple-hearted saint of Italy. His ideals opposed the pope's ambition for worldly glory, man's greed for power and gold, and the churchman's narrow bigotry that heresy is of the creeds. In a day of brutal hypocrisy, ecclesiastical concern for orthodoxy, the masses' eagerness for peace, and many restless movements of reform, his ideals, through the figure of a beggar, focused human thought upon reality. It is said that in his old age, St. Francis, sick and broken, saw from the mountaintop a vision of the crucified Redeemer and felt thereafter in the

palms of his hands and the soles of his feet the *stigmata*, the burning wounds of Jesus.

THE SCHOOLMEN. Scholasticism is another major aspect of the Middle Ages, the most important, with respect to thought within the church. It was a movement in theology, which paralleled the Renaissance; it represents the rationalization of theology. While popes and emperors were struggling for supremacy, while the common man was criticizing privilege, the thinker in the church was scrutinizing dogma. This thoughtful process gathered impetus from the tenth until the fifteenth century. It lost its vogue—beyond the bounds of the orthodox church—when scientific and humanistic inquiries developed; then reason interfered with dogma. But until about 1200, reason was employed to vindicate the church's doctrines, not to shatter them. The sum of rational religion, in the view of the Roman Catholic church, was arrived at by Aquinas. Leo XIII commended his work as sufficient for Catholics for all time. Let us scan the process of his *Summa Theologica*.

The scholastic movement deals with faith and reason and establishes the fact that they are two pathways to one goal. The spirit of speculation has always lingered in the church, especially where it might feed on hellenistic theories. Augustine had sanctioned inquiry; he was liberally dogmatic; he once believed in freedom of the will; but tradition has emphasized his legalism. Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) explained many things in legalistic fashion; for example, the death of Jesus (the Atonement) was a satisfaction of God's injured honor; men's sins had outraged God; the innocent Jesus died on men's behalf; in return God rewarded Jesus by granting believers absolution from the penalty of sin; Jesus had satisfied God's sense of justice.

Aquinas found that men may not speculate too freely; reason had its limitations; while there is in Christianity nothing unreasonable, there is much which outreaches reason. Natural religion may be fully understood by reason, but Christianity as revealed religion must be understood by faith, God enabling man's naturally weak intellect to be the

means to things transcendent. Reason and faith are both divine but must be kept distinct and separate. There was special need of this sort of demonstration, for Hellenism, once overcome by Latin legal-mindedness and ritual, was renewing, through Jewish and Arabian philosophers,²¹ its attack upon the West. It brought in theories of social ethics; the disciplines of psychology, epistemology, and metaphysics; and such terms as form and matter, potentiality and actuality. Latin theology could not survive without considering these elements, nor without a willingness to use Greek categories. Aquinas was the champion of the faith in this emergency. He was an heir of Aristotle, whose works he edited, and of Neo-Platonism. He recognized two sources of religious knowledge: (1) the Bible and apostolic tradition (the works of the "Fathers"), and (2) Platonic and Aristotelian writings. Both sources came from God and must agree when adequately understood. Consequently, Aquinas taught that through reason men may know God as the Absolute, the First Cause; we may perceive cause by noting its effects; we may perceive such effects as men's bodies and men's souls, which are forms of bodies. We know God the Absolute through what he has created in exposition of himself. But God as the true object of devotion cannot be known through reason, save as reason is extended by our faith; we know him through revelation, especially through the Bible, which is truly the record of his revelation, and through the church, by which his revelation was confirmed. For perfect knowledge we must accept the doctrines of the scriptures—he laid great stress upon the doctrine of the Trinity—and depend faithfully upon the sacraments. Natural reason demonstrates God's existence and man's moral obligation to the right; faith agrees with this but goes further and finds through unquestioning obedience God the Redeemer of mankind.

The church is the perfect earthly channel of God's grace. The state has merely transient validity; it is a stage of life leading to its own completion in the church. The world is not altogether evil in itself; it is preliminary to the kingdom

of God's grace. There is temporary good and temporary evil, natural right and natural wrong. There are prohibitions; these are absolute. There are counsels, which are relative. There are grades of social ethics; morality may be qualified; natural right may at times be wrong, and natural wrong may at times be right; the church is the final arbiter.

The church, during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, suffered a series of disturbing, if not shattering, shocks, including Protestant dissensions. We shall not follow her history as such beyond the sixteenth century, for our aim is characterization and not history; but we must yet include in our survey the means by which she met the shocks. Her responses were mainly two: (1) the founding of the Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, in 1540, and (2) the decisions of the Council convened from 1545 to 1563 at Trent in Germany.

THE JESUITS. The Society of Jesus was a spiritual army of the pope, a major agency for extending his dominion. They established missions in all parts of the globe, making converts and reclaiming many Protestant dissenters. They specialized in education, founding many secondary schools and universities; their methods were entirely scholastic. In both theology and ethics they were exponents of Aquinas. They held Aquinas' theory of qualified morality, permitting probability and mental reservation,²² although the charge that they once formally taught that the end justifies the means cannot be proved against them. They magnified the fact that the priest in the confessional is the expert on the moral quality of specific conduct; and they emphasized the primacy of communion, the Mass.

Their founder was a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), who, recuperating from a wound received in battle, was converted to the religious life as he read the lives of various saints. He hung his weapons on the altar of the Virgin and, eager to convert the Saracens, undertook an arduous pilgrimage to Palestine. Induced by Franciscans in Jerusalem to prepare himself for missionary service, he studied from 1528 to 1534 at Salamanca and at Paris. In

1534 he organized at Montmartre the Society of Jesus, including Francis Xavier, the famous apostle to India and the East. The Jesuits put themselves directly at the Pope's disposal. They rose to temporal power in France, Spain, Portugal, and Austria; their influence was pervasive. While they lost political prestige eventually (after 1759), they continued to enhance the papacy. They have been particularly active in the Western Hemisphere.

TRENT. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) remained officially in session during eighteen years, working at its problems through two commissions. Decisions were valid, if the Pope approved. It clarified many issues, modified some, and sought to establish the details of Church authority. Its decrees were not accepted universally by the Catholic states,²³ but they served generally to stiffen clerical morale. According to the Council:

1. The Latin Vulgate was the sacred canon, and church tradition was coequal with it as scriptural authority, the church having the right of scriptural interpretation. This gave papal usages apostolic warrant.
2. The sacraments were further validated, being defined as symbols of sacred reality, visible forms of invisible grace, containing and bestowing grace on those suitably disposed.
3. Justification, i.e., being "made just," from the natural state to the state of grace (cf. Rom. 3:20–31), does not rest upon faith alone but upon works also. It embraces the remission of sins and sanctification, forgiveness and grace coming at once. God's grace is not given for man's merit, but through the merit of the death of Christ.²⁴

These few items may serve as indication of the Council's disposition. Church organization, management, and discipline were considered. Steps were taken to regulate indulgences, whose abuse had led to public scandal,²⁵ toward the regulation of the calendar of saints and holy days, and toward the education of the clergy. An Index, a censorship or blacklist, was provided for offensive publications. The council recognized, by implication, the primacy of the pope;

but not until 1870 was the doctrine of the pope's infallibility (when speaking *ex cathedra*) promulgated. With the decrees of Trent, the Index, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition, the Church was prepared to crush the Protestant Reformation. Although Trent's decrees were deliberately vague on issues which divided Catholics, they were characteristic of the Roman church; they removed all hope of reconciliation and reunion with the Protestants.

The Roman church continues to enjoy unusual power; it rests still in the ascendancy in the West. Papal policy is definitely seeking to increase the sense of Catholic solidarity, to create an international consciousness; the pope would be the interpreter of international law and of the conscience of humanity. Although this policy has failed on several conspicuous occasions, the church is showing new signs of solidarity and world influence. Perhaps its power still rests on these three factors, chiefly: the traditional, the legalistic, and the sacramentarian. The Catholic individual takes comfort in the church and finds assurance in the sacraments. He finds in it the idea of the holy; he lives under the spell of blessed relics. He believes that works are meritorious; that the good deed brings somehow its own reward, and the evil deed, its dire consequences unless it be forgiven. He is assured that God can be prevailed upon by his doing the works which God has appointed. The lives of the saints provide accessible example; the rules of holy living are explicit; the works enjoined are tangible. He experiences through the church something of the ripeness and completion of the ages. His guides, the clergy, are in apostolical succession, linking him with the fountainhead of faith. He finds in his church sufficient breadth; it is the true, the universal church, whose foundation is divine, whose plan is heavenly, whose character is revelation. There is no salvation for him otherwise; and, after all, his church is lenient: he has a certain freedom of belief, and there is a lengthy list of pardonable sins. What more could he desire? His church is practical, visible, adaptable, and durable.

PROTESTANTISM. Protestantism as a conspicuous movement emerged comparatively late; it arose in the sixteenth century. But it was inevitable, taking human nature as it is; it was inherent in Christianity from the beginning: Jesus was himself a protestant. Dissenters, including "heretics," of various sorts appeared in every century of the church's history, but at last a crisis came which introduced a permanent division, a "third estate" in Christendom. Protestantism itself assumed many forms, but essentially it represents an extension of the spiritual and scriptural character of Christianity, in contrast with the formal organizational. Protestants and Catholics are fundamentally related, but the two bodies are historically distinct. The term Catholic has been limited unduly throughout the centuries by Roman—and Greek—usage. Protestants, however, have been equally restrictive in their uses of true and universal.

"Catholic Church" was first used by Bishop Ignatius of Antioch, about 115 A.D., in a letter which he wrote to the church at Smyrna from Troas, while en route to martyrdom at Rome. His simple meaning is inspiring: ". . . wherever Christ may be, there is the Catholic Church." And he was still as simple in his reference to the fact that a bishop's presence is the visible test of the presence of the Lord, the invisible head of the Church. By definition, "Catholic" means "universal"; by implication, unity and uniqueness; the unity of the Body of Christ, the uniqueness of the Truth of Christ. But history pre-empted for it the meaning of the visible church. In Roman Christian usage, it represents an exclusive body, and exclusive teachings, a hierarchy, with its offices and creeds, at whose head stands the pope.

The supreme issue between Protestants and Catholics, in a restricted sense, is papal; witness the Protestant references to their Catholic brothers as "papists." Pius X (1903–1915) decreed categorically that "all those who do not acknowledge the Roman Pontiff as their Head do not belong to the Church of Jesus Christ." This confirmed the issue of several centuries, in which the Protestants cannot concur.

They, rather, hold it true, as Ignatius wrote, that "wherever Christ may be, there is the Catholic Church." The original protest, the basis in action whereby the separation came, was issued by five princes and fourteen free cities of Germany against the action of the Diet of Speyer in 1529, which revoked the decree of 1526 that each German prince should determine the religion of his state.²⁶ The following year the Augsburg Confession was drawn up, and the Catholic Church decided that all who subscribed to it would be considered Protestants. Theology thus joined with politics to bring about the Reformation. In practice, the term Protestant was shortly used in Germany to cover Lutherans; in England and elsewhere, all opposed to Rome. Many dissenters adopted the term officially and used it until they came to realize that they, too, were Catholic, having their spiritual origin in the religion of Jesus, as transmitted by the first apostles and their successors. The day may come when all Christians realize, through world experience, the primacy of the Christian spirit; when all men know that unity transcends locality, class, nationality, race, and dogma.

LUTHER. Martin Luther (1483-1546), the son of a miner of Eisleben, a Saxon village between Wittenberg and Erfurt, became in 1517 at Wittenberg virtually the first Protestant. He had attended the University in Erfurt, to complete his training for the law, but at the age of twenty-two he had suddenly become a friar instead in an Augustinian monastery. He had become distrustful of the world; in a state of restlessness and dimness of soul, he sought salvation. He fasted in the monastery until he fainted, scourged himself until he bled, and nearly wrecked his constitution by asceticism, without relief of mind and peace of soul. After two years, he began to read the Scriptures; while reading Paul's Epistle to the Romans, he experienced conversion. Reading that "the just shall live by faith" (Rom. 5:1), he began to question the great emphasis which the church had put on works. He weighed the justification to be found by the believer through faith in Jesus Christ against the merit of ceremonial observances. He found satisfaction

in the Bible, beyond the church itself; it became the source of his authority; personal experience became the test of his salvation. He had gone back of post-Augustinian works to Augustinian and Pauline faith.

To divert the friar's mind from his own immediate concerns, his superior secured for him a post as teacher in the University in Wittenberg. But there he became involved in the controversy which raged about indulgences. A Dominican friar, Tetzel, came to Wittenberg with indulgences to sell, and Luther filed a protest; on October 31, 1517, he nailed some theses on the door of the church. While at first the move seemed to be just another fight between monastic orders, it soon became apparent, through Luther's continued protestations, that there was something more afoot. He was forthwith haled before his order, at the pope's direction, and indicted on a charge of heresy. He was tried at Augsburg, in October, 1518, before a papal legate but asked for trial before a general council, which popes were not willing to attempt to call in those days. Six months later, in a debate in Leipzig with John Eck, the most eminent Catholic controversialist, Luther was forced into a damaging admission—that he agreed with John Huss, who had been burned in 1415 for heresy! Unperturbed, he carried on the contest, issuing many articles in German, proclaiming that all true believers, as well as all true priests, are priests of God. He was shortly excommunicated (1520), but burned the bull of excommunication defiantly. Half the states of Germany refused the publication of the bull. Here was a national issue! While Luther was condemned at the Diet of Worms in 1521, where he declined retraction, he was permitted to withdraw in safety; there were many of his countrymen then ready to lay down their lives for him. Had he died then, his triumph would have been complete; he had established the cause in terms of biblical authority, distrust of "holy works," personal experience of salvation, and the rights of nationality.²⁷ Subsequent interpretations were based substantially on these elements. His reformation was in part political, sharing the impetus toward the nationalizing of the

German and Scandinavian churches, beginning with Saxony in 1525, although for a century there was devastating civil war. Theologically he was conservative; he was more Catholic than most of the reformers; the Reformed Churches went beyond him. His position, that of orthodox Lutheranism, is this:

1. The Bible is the inspired and infallible authority in all matters of faith and life.
2. Good works are the fruits and evidences of faith.
3. Salvation comes by faith.
4. Two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are real channels of grace, not mere symbols; Christ is really present in the bread and wine.
5. The believer is predestined to salvation, but the condemnation of the nonelect is not necessarily eternal.

Lutheranism in America, in spite of having lost much of its nationalistic character, remains as conservative, sectarian, and diversified as its prototype in Europe. It ranges all the way from personal piety to the efficacy of works.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIANS. The Protestant Episcopal Church is essentially a national type which sprang directly out of Reformation soil. It was originated, politically, in England, by the Act of Supremacy of 1534, which constituted Henry VIII "on earth the Supreme Head" of the Church of England. Protestant theological elements were later introduced; but today there is an increasing tendency among Episcopalians to regard themselves as catholic, as representatives of the universal Christian church, and as true agents of saving grace, of which the sacraments are channels. Long prior to the Act of Henry, John Wycliffe (1320-1384), a contemporary of the Bohemian John Huss, had kindled in England the fires of reform by his translation of the Bible into English, by his writings, and by the ministry of his Poor Priests. After him came John Colet, who used the New Testament as the basis of his lectures at Oxford, and William Tyndale, translator of the Bible and champion of religious liberty. Luther's writings found their way

to England. Meanwhile, there was gathering discontent—popular dissatisfaction with greedy bishops, careless friars, and immoral priests. The times were ripe, at last, for Henry's assumption of self-rule. Yet he did not reject the spiritual authority of the pope; his confiscation of monastic properties was greed; he merely nationalized the English church, made it independent of the pope as worldly sovereign. To deny to Henry the headship of the church was treason. In turn, a papal bull delivered Henry's soul to the devil and his kingdom to the first invader.

By the Six Articles of 1539 Henry gave the church a creed, essentially papal, with the pope left out; for example, the bread and wine of the communion were the blood and body of the Lord. His son Edward's Act of Uniformity of 1549 obliged all churches to use exclusively an English Book of Common Prayer. It was followed shortly (1552) by certain Articles of Religion. But the country was divided, and Edward's sister Mary was a Catholic, who repealed the former legislation, restored the Latin Prayer Book, and persecuted Protestants. Elizabeth seems to have had no deep convictions on these matters; in her own life she kept many Catholic forms, praying in her private chapel to the Virgin. The nation seemed of two opinions. But the Reformation had set in, and England would have her own interpretation of it. Another Act of Supremacy (1559) reaffirmed the separation, and restored the English Prayer Book. Elizabeth appointed new bishops where necessary and named as Primate of all England her own Archbishop of Canterbury. The Thirty-nine Articles (1563 ff.) established the details of creed in conjunction with the Prayer Book, and the Church of England was at last a fact. It was wholly national; no worship was allowed other than what the law prescribed; but the church remained episcopal, although the exact authority of the episcopate was difficult of settlement.

The Anglicans, like the Lutherans, occupied a middle ground, not so far away from Roman doctrine. Their Book of Common Prayer, containing creed and ritual, was largely drawn from the Latin Book of Prayer.

1. The episcopacy is based, in theory, upon the Bible; but "high" Churchmen have claimed divine right for it, a certain confusion with reference to the character of the church issuing from this contrast of divine and biblical authority.

2. The clergy are in apostolical succession (this is essential doctrine), and nonepiscopal orders are not recognized as valid. There are, in theory, no monks; but there are corresponding "fathers." There is no rule of celibacy for the clergy.

3. Worship is liturgical but less elaborate than the Roman Mass. In 1928 an unsuccessful attempt was made to revise the Prayer Book in the interest of a greater sacramentarianism. "Communion" is used instead of "mass," and "table" instead of "altar." Independent of the special ritual of "Holy Communion," there are regular services of Morning and Evening Prayer. There are no images, but in a minor way there is veneration of the saints. There is, in general, no confessional; but many high churches use the office. The congregation participates in the services to a considerable extent by responses, confessions, psalms, and hymns. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, the novelty of psalm-singing in the open air turned many people to the Reformation.

4. Two sacraments are recognized—Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which Protestants generally retained. But the Anglicans expressly rejected the Lutheran opinion of the Supper; Anglicans stress "the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ" considered to be "represented" in the Eucharist.²⁸

5. There is wide freedom of theological interpretation, especially among the "low" churches. Much of the "Calvinism" (i.e., predestination) of the Articles (Art. XVII) has been softened or forgotten; the perseverance of the elect, rather than of all believers, is adhered to. Man must share responsibility for his own salvation. The church has continued an original interest in the union (high Churchmen call it "reunion") of the churches. It has discharged its reasonable share in the modern missionary enterprise.

The disestablished churches of Scotland and of Ireland and the American Protestant Episcopal carry on the tradition of the mother Church of England; they are autonomous branches. The American episcopate is in apostolic succession, although certain English laws had to be repealed in colonial days so that American bishops could be consecrated in the mother country. Churches had been organized in all the colonies before the revolution. By 1789, the American church had been reorganized somewhat after the national Constitution, with a House of Bishops and a House of Deputies, the latter representing dioceses. There are now nearly three million members. Each diocese has its own convention, and since 1913, they have been grouped into eight provincial units. In doctrine, discipline, and worship, the Americans follow closely the English Book of Common Prayer, with the Athanasian creed omitted, and the Thirty-nine Articles not required. The Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds are emphasized. The liturgy is fundamentally Catholic. There are high churchmen who preserve the Catholic sacramentarian heritage, not without an intimation of transubstantiation in the Eucharist, and with insistence on the divine episcopate. There are low churchmen, who have adjusted themselves more nearly to the democratic mood; and some very low, who since 1873 have carried on the Reformed Episcopal church. All have been anxious for the restoration of the undivided Catholic church, as expressed in the Declaration on Unity, 1886: ". . . the return of all Christian Communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence."

Further diversity in Christendom is easily exemplified; Protestant denominations have been numerous, based on doctrine, ritual, and organization. Catholicism has managed either to annihilate or to assimilate its major heresies; but among Protestants are Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, Puritans, Dissenters, Separatists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, and Methodists, representing geographically, or doctrinally, independent areas

of revolt. We are here concerned not with them all but only with the major types.

METHODISM. A system followed by a number of denominations, Methodism arose in England. Its method is episcopal, but in fundamental doctrine it is Arminian, with stress upon the freedom of man's will; it is evangelical, with primary loyalty to the Evangel or Gospel of Jesus, in contrast with ecclesiastical or rationalistic types of Christianity. Its background is the Church of England; its motive was to stem the tide of irreligion, to which the Anglicans were paying little heed. The Elizabethan settlement survived almost unchanged until the eighteenth century. All free spirits in the church, and, on the outside, "nonconformists," were vigorously suppressed. Worship was predominantly formal. The clergy were incredibly lazy and indifferent. Reason had its vogue as the highest of the human faculties; enthusiasm was condemned as foolish and indecent. The morals of society were low; gambling, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, profanity, drunkenness, and degrading theatrical performances exhibited the common weakness. Gin shops agreed to make a man drunk for a penny and dead drunk for tuppence. Licentiousness accompanied inebriety.

The Wesleyan revival began in 1729 with the Holy Club, so nicknamed for its piety, a group of dons and students in the gay, port-drinking University of Oxford. Among the sixteen members, John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield were the leading spirits. The Wesleys, high churchmen, of an ascetic and somewhat legalistic temper, directed their attention to what we now call social service. When the club disbanded in 1735, for want of a definite objective, John Wesley went as a missionary to America, but met no immediate success beyond encountering a band of Pietists (Moravians), with whom he found a sudden, assuring joy of his own salvation. Returning to England, he found that Whitefield had also experienced salvation and was preaching with amazing power among the Bristol miners. Wesley caught new fire from Whitefield; both were bent upon a sweeping, evangelical revival. Whitefield was

of humble birth; Wesley was a scholar and a gentleman. The former was a Calvinist; the latter, an Arminian. Wesley took the lead; he was an organizer; he instituted "methodism"—scrupulous observance of religious practices and principles of reform. For fifty years, until he died at eighty-seven (1791), he went about, chiefly on horseback, throughout all the English and Scotch countryside, holding meetings, and organizing societies. Warmth, vigor, and evangelical teaching characterized his ministry of the love of God in Christ. He preached the common virtues to the underprivileged poor and to the rich alike. Before his death, tens of thousands had turned Methodist, and an independent church under its own bishops had been started in England and America (1784). Himself an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, which he never left, he passed on to others the succession of the apostolic office. The societies received no recognition from the Church of England; an independent movement was, therefore, contrary to Wesley's judgment, expedient and necessary. Membership in the United States alone exceeds nine millions. Operating as a church, and not as missions, Methodists have been conspicuous in foreign service.

Methodist ritual is simple as compared with Wesley's, which the societies rejected as too Anglican. It is biblical, and rich in hymns, especially of Charles Wesley's composition. Doctrine is not easily summed up, for there are episcopal, protestant, primitive, Calvinistic, and Arminian elements involved; but as a church there is a substantial unanimity of Arminianism. Man himself must seek salvation through perfect love, and entire sanctification. If he backslide, he must seek the mourners' bench to be restored. He is free to sin if he falls from grace; grace is not persistent; but he can recover and be saved.

PRESBYTERIANISM. Presbyterianism, as a type of ecclesiastical administration, falls midway between episcopacy and congregationalism; it is a revival among certain Protestants of early apostolic practices. As doctrine, it emphasizes apostolic elements as formulated and expounded by John

Calvin, a contemporary of the Jesuit Loyola. As a movement, it arose in France and Switzerland, extended into Holland, Poland, Hungary, England, Scotland, and America and elsewhere during the modern missionary crusade. It was more independent of the Roman Catholic church than Luther's movement. For three centuries "Calvinism" had, in fact, permeated the growing Reformation, before Calvin led it in rebellion against Rome. It was Calvin's special task to provide the distinctive pattern of the anti-papal revolution.

CALVIN. John Calvin, or Jean Couvin (1509-1564), a Frenchman born at Noyon, Picardy, was a lawyer's son and himself trained for the law. Severe and censorious, he nevertheless objected to the church's persecution of the French reformers and published an edition of Seneca's *De Clementia* (*On Mercy*), hoping to mitigate injustice. His body was weak, nervous, and dyspeptic, but his mind was keen and logical. He was a religious genius, a strong, if not original, thinker, and a dominant personality. Through unknown influences (in an atmosphere of Humanism) he became a Protestant. In 1536, at the age of twenty-seven, he published his monumental *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, comparable with, but more coherent than, the work of Augustine, and similar in doctrine. Composed in defense of French reformers, it came to be the ablest and most comprehensive statement of the Protestant position. He took the Apostles' Creed, clause by clause, to show that Protestantism was its true expression. His theology was based ultimately upon the Bible. Finding it expedient to withdraw from France, he took refuge in Geneva, where Farel, a young reformer, persuaded him to tarry. The citizens, already having declared their freedom from the pope, welcomed the fugitive.

Although once expelled for possibly forgivable harshness, he returned in 1541 to remain the balance of his life and to establish a theocracy, or "rule of God." In effect, it was a local Protestant autocracy. "His practical interpretation of civil liberty was that the church as the oracle of

God should control the State and that John Calvin should control the church." There was small room for liberty, civil or religious, under Calvin, and yet Geneva became the center of the Reformation movement. "The spiritual indebtedness of Western Europe and America to the educating influence of Calvin's theology is well nigh measureless." He must be measured by the standards of his day, whereby we adjudge him memorable for his intolerance of unethical behavior. He put morality back into religion. He felt himself to be an instrument of God, and God was, to him, nothing if not moral. But it was left for doctrine to be the ground of Calvin's severe intolerance when in 1553 he allowed the Unitarian Servetus to be publicly burned for his heretical attack upon the Trinity.

Calvinism made itself heir to Luther, whom it honored. It shared with Luther an Augustinian emphasis upon the doctrine of free grace, that God gives to man an inner power without which he could not attain salvation. Paul, Augustine, Luther, and Calvin agree on grace as an agent of salvation. In Augustine, grace is associated with the church, perhaps dependently; in Calvin, grace is free from ecclesiastical control and is the only source of efficacy which enters into salvation. The sacraments to Calvin are symbolical, the Lord's Supper being a solemn privilege from which moral offenders were excluded. Grace cannot be earned; when it comes it is wholly undeserved. God gives it to a chosen few. Man is naturally evil and totally depraved, and salvation is the gift of God. Calvin's teaching emphasized two aspects of religion: man's absolute dependence upon God, and a life of active service to the glory of God. All things are included under the will of God; man has no freedom of will whatsoever. The Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, is the record of God's will. Predestination was the central dogma. Calvin and Luther both believed in predestination, that events are predetermined by the will of God, but Calvin did not emphasize, as Luther did, justification by faith, remission of the punishment of sin, as a working out of God's predetermination.

To Calvin, consciousness of "election" was man's assurance that his sins had been forgiven. The church is not a human institution, subject to change at man's direction, but is divine: it is the kingdom of God on earth, and as such is the medium of man's salvation. On the other hand, the state is human and humanly ordained. Church and state are separate, independent entities. Calvin, however, had attempted in Geneva to establish a holy commonwealth under the rule of presbyters elected by the citizens. It did not succeed, for the line could not always be clear between the presbytery and the secular authorities. In any case, the divine church is above the human state. Calvinism was once summarized during its controversy (1618-19) with the Arminians in the famous "five points," or theses:

1. Absolute predestination (no freedom of the human will).
2. Particular redemption (only the elect are saved).
3. Total depravity (man's innate sinfulness).
4. Irresistible grace (God cannot be resisted by one whom he has chosen).
5. The perseverance of the saints (if elected, man is sure of being saved).

While these five theses cannot properly be taken out of controversy as an exact statement of the Calvinistic faith, they may serve not altogether inexactly as a summary.

Calvinism became a movement and a spiritual tradition, taking form in accommodation to its new surroundings. In France, the Huguenots perpetuated it. In Scotland, John Knox (1513-1572) and the Covenanters were Calvinists. In England, Calvinism split into Puritans, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. Everywhere it ill agreed with monarchy. In England there were political reverberations in which Presbyterians were involved. Although the Westminster Assembly (1643-1648) failed to formulate the unity of the national churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland according to the best Reformed tradition, the debates bore fruit. The doctrinal statements consisting of the thirty-three articles have stood as the Confession of the Presby-

terian Church, were for many years accepted "for substance of doctrine" by Congregationalists, and were included in the Philadelphia Confession of the Baptists. The name "Presbyterian" in America is borne only by those Presbyterian churches which derive their origin from Great Britain and are thus distinguished from the Reformed Churches (Presbyterian) whose origin lay in Europe. While Presbyterians have fallen somewhat sharply into two groups, fundamentalists and liberals, Calvinism as a creed sits rather lightly on them. They are, however, faithful children of the Calvinist tradition.

CONGREGATIONALISM. In the congregational type, the local congregation is autonomous but in fellowship with sister churches. Among the congregational bodies are the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Disciples of Christ, the Unitarians, and the Universalists. They represent, however, some diversity of doctrine. Their general background is English Puritan, or Separatist. The Puritans at first accepted the Elizabethan settlement, although they maintained their ardent aim of purifying the church's forms of worship. They discounted the authority of the hierarchy and tended to find religious guidance in the scriptures. They demanded not only formal independence of the papacy but the elimination of all "popery." They attacked the use of the cross in baptism, the ring in the marriage ceremony, the cleric's wearing of the cap and surplice, and the veneration of the saints. About 1570 they strove for a reorganization of the church, some desiring a presbyterian organization without such names as archbishop and archdeacon, which, they said, were "drawn out of the pope's shop." Some went so far as to suggest actual separation from the Church of England.

In 1580 Robert Browne organized a separate congregation in Norwich, the first Independent, or Congregational, Church in England. Queen Elizabeth turned upon the Separatists, and upon the Presbyterians, with as much severity as she meted out officially to Catholics, and Separatism disappeared until the later Puritan Rebellion. Mean-

while, some dissenters, with no standing in their own land, exiled themselves to Holland (1606 ff.), where they laid the foundations of Congregational theology and organization. Many of them crossed in 1620 in the Mayflower to America and renewed their movement in New England. Entrenching themselves in Massachusetts and Connecticut until the nineteenth century, they have since spread throughout the states. Congregationalism is an interesting phenomenon; it seems to be the extremity of antihierarchical revolt, unless the milder Friends or Quakers are at the extreme, rejecting practically all religious institutions for guidance by the Inner Spirit. It represents the church's primitive democracy and independence. It has never had a rigid creed; its theology is liberal and easily revised; it is only faintly Calvinistic. Its worship is scarcely to be distinguished from that of other nonepiscopal communions. It has been generously cooperative, especially with the Presbyterians and Unitarians, the former being early kinsmen, and the latter, extreme separatist brothers of a century ago. Recently a union with the "Christian Church" was consummated (1933), and organic union with the Evangelical and Reformed Church is nearing consummation at this writing. It has cherished the open mind and education and has a worthy record in philanthropy. It was the first among American Protestants to organize a foreign missionary society. The body is held together chiefly by pride of heritage, but since 1871 its affairs have been administered by a National Council. Since the merger with the "Christians," the membership has reached over one million.

BAPTISTS. Baptists are nonconformists, or Separatists, who put special emphasis upon the sacrament of baptism, the rite being by immersion for adult believers and having no sacramentarian or magical efficiency. They refuse to practice infant baptism. Doctrine has been with them of greater moment than the form of government. Remotely, they are apostolic, for baptism by immersion was doubtless the practice of the early Church. In succeeding centuries

the mode had varied, and the meaning had been much debated. More immediately, they were heirs of Anabaptists, a sixteenth-century group who baptized again (*ana*) those who as infants had been christened by the church. They were heretics both to Catholics and to Protestants; many Protestant reformers wrote against them. Luther turned opinion against them in 1522; they were driven out of Switzerland to Moravia, out of Italy to Poland. Persecuted in Holland, they reorganized under Menno Simons as Mennonites and formed associations with Anabaptist brethren in other nations. The Baptists sprang from Anabaptist Separatists sojourning in Amsterdam from England. These Separatists in 1609 had repudiated their baptism as infants, had been immersed, holding that baptism is not valid, unless faith precedes it. From 1612, Baptist congregations multiplied in England on the strength of their protest against infant baptism.

Baptists have a varied creed. Generally, they are Calvinistic, but, unlike Calvin, they insist upon the complete separation of church and state. Each local congregation is autonomous; there is tolerance of creed but emphasis on experienced conversion. Close communion has been a common practice, the admission of none but their own members to the Supper. In addition to the ties of believer's baptism and close communion—both of which have loosened slightly, recently—the main body of Baptists is knit together by various associations and a general convention. The name covers a wide variety of religious opinions, educational enterprises, and philanthropic activities. American Baptists organized at Providence in 1638 under the leadership of Roger Williams, an English Separatist, banished from Massachusetts in 1636. The movement took special hold in Pennsylvania and the southern states. All of the larger Christian churches tolerate immersion, but few have made it the exclusive mode of baptism, as did the early church. The Disciples of Christ are peculiarly an American immersionist body, emphasizing faith and repentance before bap-

tism. Without a creed, they have taken the scriptures as authority, including the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper as thus warranted.

CONCLUSION. We may rightly deduce from many of the foregoing materials that the Christian Church of the last three hundred years has made its greatest progress in America, a conclusion based not merely on the obvious fact that America was a virgin area but on the fact also that experimentation of unusual significance has been carried out. Both Protestants and Catholics came freely to the Western Hemisphere. In the United States alone are roughly 35,000,000 Roman Catholics and 60,000,000 Protestants.

In Europe, Catholic and State churches have had the right of way. While American Christianity has been denominational, its spirit has developed peculiarly interdenominational activities, which have had their reflex influences on doctrine. The Roman Catholic church of America has developed as a unit, showing no disloyalty to Rome but conscious of a somewhat national character and an American destiny. Protestant Churches formed in 1908 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, recently reorganized as the National Council of Churches, while in 1948 a World Council of Churches was formed, including 140 denominations among its supporting bodies. Problems purely domestic seem now to catch the imagination and to enlist the generosity of loyal Christians, Protestant and Catholic. There is a growing sense of obligation to the underprivileged, the duty of benevolence toward their minds and bodies, and a lively interest in the principles by which a sound society is built. But there are no essentially new problems beyond those we have discovered by our total survey. Familiar problems persist under new conditions and new designations, and the loyal Christian seeks to meet them by renewed applications of the pure spirit and sound morals of Jesus. If there is a major problem and incentive for the Christian Church today, it is the secularism manifest within and all about it. It must meet it

as such dangers have been met before, by a just blending of virtue and religion, a kindling of devotion to the good, an impression of the idea of the holy, and an appreciation of the majesty and love of God.

If we venture to ask, at last, What is Christianity? we might answer by this summary. Christianity is:

1. The person and the teachings of Jesus. He is a sufficiently distinct historical character. He may be known in comparison with other men. He may be experienced, even mystically, as the Friends have known him. He may be idealized as the incentive to high thinking and clean living. He warrants the highest we can think of him.
2. The New Testament, which every Christian church accepts, whatever its evaluation, whatever portions may be emphasized. It confirms the Old, and the Bible as a whole is a progressive revelation, not yet closed. It furnishes a concrete standard of appraisal of the views and practices of any age. Being the basis of the creeds, it might serve the common good without the creeds. Textual and critical difficulties are involved but are not insuperable barriers to individual interpretation.
3. Tradition made by councils, and resulting creeds. They supplement the Life and the Book, and may not rightly displace them. They are common property to Christendom, for example, Nicæa, Chalcedon, Trent, and Westminster. The Eastern Church has accepted no Christianity but that of the councils prior to 1000, but later councils produced nothing which was not related to earlier fundamentals. The Roman church includes pronouncements of the pope with findings of the councils. The national churches have had their statements and confessions. Many Reformed bodies have had their creeds. Something essential might be discovered in all of them. Altogether they elaborate tradition and are inextricably woven into Christianity.
4. Christians, members of the churches. They have made the faith. They represent the informal elements, perhaps, but they make up a "goodly company," with prophets, priests, apostles, saints, scholars, workmen, and the varied types of the many ages. Something of common humanity affects the church through them, and they become in any com-

prehensive view the body of the Lord. They with their devotion constitute effective catholicity, which may not be constricted by official definitions.

These are the four ingredients of Christianity, illustrative of its complexity, evidence of its development and of its comprehensive value, and proof of its continuance.

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Chapter 16

ISLAM

Popularly but inaccurately known as Muhammadanism, the religion of the Muslim is Islam. The differentiation is important. "Muhammadanism," is derived from the name of the founder, Muhammad, "the one worthy of continual praise." But he called the faith Islam, "submission," or "peace won by submission" to God, emphasizing its divine rather than its human origin. He said that he was "only a man," a "warner," an "apostle"; that "there is no might nor strength but in God," to whom all men "return."

Islam is the latest of the great "world religions." Sikhism, the last in time of the living faiths, rests properly against its Indian background, but Islam follows naturally our consideration of Judaism and Christianity, for it rests upon the Semitic basis common to the three.

Islamic culture is largely present in the whole world today; Christendom especially stands deeply in its debt. Among Islamic cities there are Cordova, Granada, Cairo, Istanbul, Baghdad, Samarkand, Agra, and Delhi, every name suggestive of some glory in the earth. Among famous Muslim rulers must be numbered 'Umar of Medina; Walid of Damascus; Murad, and Sulayman of Istanbul; Harun, and Mamun of Baghdad; Salah-ad-Din (Saladin) of Syria and Egypt; and the immortal Akbar of Delhi. Each of them represents some lasting contribution to mankind. Masters of poetic form and sentiment have put us in their debt. Omar Khayyam is possibly (thanks to Edward Fitzgerald) better known in England and America than in his native Persia. Europe has freely levied toll on Muslim literature of earthly love. The *Arabian Nights* have minis-

tered to our spirit of adventure. We enjoy hearing the poet al-Rumi talk of worldly things,

Poor copies out of heaven's original,
Pale earthly pictures mouldering to decay,

and are stirred by his hopeful query,

What though thy frame be withered, old, and dead,
If the soul keep her fresh, immortal youth?

In Sa'di of Shiraz, "a deep interpreter and master sage," is "matter for every taste." Says he, as warning,

Can wise hearts ever take the world to wife?
Can pure minds linger in th' embrace of life?

Who eats his corn whilst yet the blade is green,
At harvest-time a crop of husks will glean.

What of such philosophers and guides as al-Ghazali, ibn-al-Arabi, and ibn-Rushd (Averroes)? Among the words we use are many laden with connotations of trade, science, and learning: saffron, asparagus, muslin, gauze, and taffeta; orange, palm, and lemon trees; admiral, alcove, alcohol, and sofa; algebra and cipher. The Renaissance, with its universities of Padua and Paris, was inspired by Islam. Our academic gown suggests the *abba* of the Arabs. Muslims are world figures, the makers and carriers of culture.

NUMBERS. Muslims today number more than three hundred million. There is a belt of them, more or less continuous, from Gibraltar (Jabal-Tariq, the Rock of Tariq) eastward to the Philippines, including Moors, Algerians, Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Afghans, Pakistanis, Indians, Javanese, and Moros. Elsewhere are unnumbered millions, including China, South Russia, and the steppes of Turkestan. In many Muslim lands there is no enumeration. "Allah knows," and man need not concern himself to no good purpose. Within the belt, which may be called the Muslim world, Muslims are in an overwhelming majority except in India, Burma, and Siam; they dominate thought and conduct. The strip occupies one-third of the earth's tropics,

extending into the warmer edge of the north temperate zone. This has meant simple but not always easy living. In many sections there is constant drought. Save in certain luxuriant islands and fertile river valleys, physical resources have been meager compared within many other regions of the earth. Mineral wealth is scarce, with the exception of oil.¹ The nomads have depended on their herds, and all settled stocks have depended upon agriculture and the manual trades. The horse, the camel, and the donkey have been the means of transportation, although today "the camel has lost the race to the automobile." Railroads are still few. And yet the peoples of these regions once moved the world and may still do it again. The student of culture and religion must reckon closely with their demonstration of simplicity as power and with their forceful theory of God.

SYMBOLS. Islam today is indicated by such familiar symbols as the mosque and minaret. Tall towers rise over all, beside the domes of mosques. They are "pillars" of prayer (*manar*, "pillar," or "lighthouse"), appropriately conspicuous since about 700 A.D., in every Muslim center. On the balcony the *muezzin* (*muadhdhan*, "he who utters the call" to prayer) has daily "kindled the fires" of devotion. Five times a day the "call" (*adhan*) floats out over the community, spoken in the Arabic.

Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, etc.,
Allah is great, Allah is great. . . .
There is no God but Allah.
Muhammad is Allah's apostle.
To your prayers! To your devotions!
Allah is great; there is no God but Allah.

This has been the public call for many centuries, expanded from the simpler, original, many-times-repeated "Allah is great; come to worship." It has been sounded from the earliest days by the human voice, not by trumpets (they were Jewish), nor by bells (they were Christian), nor even by pagan conch-shells.

THE MOSQUE AND PRAYER. The place of meeting (*jami*) is the mosque (*masjid*). The Arabs called it the *masjid* or "place of prostration" before Allah, referring especially to the place of public, congregational worship. Often the larger mosque is simply *jami*, the place of Friday meeting. The traditional form of the house of prayer is that of a square, walled-in, roofless court, with a fountain or a pool of water in the center. On two or three sides of the court are colonnades or cloisters for shelter, often used by students of the "sciences." Across the side toward Mecca stands a domed structure with a floor above the level of the court, in which the worship centers. Every mosque is so constructed (or adapted, as in the case of churches taken over from the Christians) that when the faithful pray, they face the direction (*qiblah*) of Mecca. There is a niche or alcove (*mihrab*) which indicates the *qiblah*. What a vast wheel is the immediate Muslim world at prayer, the faithful bowing along the spokes that point to the ancient Meccan Ka'bah!

Mosques are plain, often bare (like the Shinto shrines) in their simplicity—quite unlike the bizarre temples of the Buddhists and the Hindus or the sumptuous cathedrals of the Christians. They may be richly adorned by mere geometric lines, carved capitals and arches, flower-tracery, and Qur'anic texts chiseled in the artistic Arabic. There are no images, no human or animal figure designs (except in mosques of the heretical Shiah in Persia, and elsewhere), no pews, no chairs. There are reading racks; jars by the pool or in the cloisters for use in the ablutions; mats and carpets on the floor; and near the alcove which points toward Mecca is a pulpit (*minbar*), with its steps and canopy. This is the setting and furniture of Islamic public worship.

Friday is the special day of prayer (*salat*),² when congregations of the faithful assemble in the mosque. While praying may be done in private (and often is) the faithful bear in mind the Prophet's words that prayer said in the mosque, especially in one of the holier mosques, is more

notably rewarding than the "prayers of a man in his own house." One may join in the mosque with those who follow the leadership of the imam³ at any designated hour, such as sunset. While the call is sounding—from the minaret or the wall—the faithful congregate. On passing an inner entrance, one leaves his shoes or sandals. At the particular place he chooses for his prayers, he may leave his outer-coat, sometimes his turban. He repairs then to the pool, or fountain, or uses one of the water jars for his ablutions (*tawaddu*, "washing"). Many ceremonial washings are prescribed: of hands, mouth, nostrils, face, forearms, neck, and feet. While bathing he may whisper to himself, "I cleanse my body to be fit for prayer, to draw my soul near the most high God," and "O Allah, examine my accounts with favor." After he has bathed he may sit awhile with a group assembled about a "reader" (*qari*) intoning passages from the Qur'ân. If he is able, he may read directly from the Book. In time, the imam, the leader of public prayer, appears (probably from a side room off the court), and the worshipers take their places for the common ritual, each on his own mat of "prostration" (*sajada*).

The ritual is picturesque and, when understood, impressive. With the motive of submission there are many postures to assume, culminating in "prostrations." A full *salat* ranges from the initial standing posture, hands folded before one, through a dozen attitudes in which one kneels at last and bows his forehead to the floor. This is a *rakah*, a "bowing down." For a service, a minimum of *rakahs* is prescribed. There are prayers of sunset, dawn, etc.; prayers of watering (in time of drought), of sickness, travel, and rest; prayers of necessity and of praise. The "prayer of assembly" is held on Friday, at midday, consisting of two *rakahs*. With the imam leading, all perform the prayer in unison: a most impressive ceremony in such a great mosque as that in Delhi, India. On Friday, after prayers, the imam may preach a sermon from the pulpit, somewhat in the Christian manner.

There is a responsibility, as well, for private prayer, or

"supplication" (du'a),⁴ as distinguished from *salat*. Muslims are encouraged to present to God, whether in the mosques, or in their houses, their own peculiar needs. Muhammad once declared that "supplication is the heart of worship." Prayer in one form or another is a pillar of religion, second only to the witness that "there is no God but Allah." The true Muslim is a man of prayer. What it means to him, a "wisp of mist" in God's sight, appears in the familiar picture of the solitary but never lonely Arab traveler on the sand-swept desert who, as the evening shadows settle rapidly in the hollows of the ruffled sands, slides from his kneeling camel—hobbling his mount—and spreads his rug to pray. Whatever his "supplication," he recognizes the omnipotence and providence of God.

PILGRIMAGE. The *hajj*, or pilgrimage, in the twelfth month of the year, is yet another well-known symbol of Islam. The rite affects in reality or in imagination the whole Islamic world. Muhammad first performed the *hajj* as a Muslim office in the last year of his life (February, 632), thereby epitomizing theory and practice. In readiness for the pilgrimage, the pilgrim discards his common garments to don the *ihram*, a white pilgrim robe. He dismisses for the time the world and the things of the world to devote himself completely to the praise of God. He joins in Cairo, or Damascus, the multitude which annually sets out for Mecca in pursuance of the solemn ritual whose minutest detail Muhammad ordained by word and by example. There are stations where one rests; prayers, bathings, fastings, and sacrifices to perform; and the inspiring circuit to be made of the Holy House, the *Ka'bah*, with its precious black stone.

Pilgrims gather from all lands, from all walks of life, speaking various tongues; but in the *hajj* they meet as one community. The high and the low, the wealthy and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, tread the common level under the pilgrim robe. They resume the primitive simplicity which the isolation of Arabia has preserved throughout the centuries. In the sacred city they surrender to the

common consciousness and renew the vows of brotherhood. Mecca, whose political fortunes have varied with the years, has remained religiously the dearest spot in the Muslim world. If a Muslim finds it possible to obey once the Prophet's injunction to make the *hajj*, he considers the rare privilege the "perfection of his faith." Muhammad "perfected Islam," as he said, when he made the pilgrimage, for it was witness that he had conquered all his enemies and had established the fundamentals of the faith. He had labored long, had prayed *toward* Mecca; now, at last, he prayed *in* Mecca, at the Holy House.

Islam is, on the whole, a simple faith, but it has a history which shows diversity and change. Whatever the force of its austere essentials, its major contributions to the culture of mankind have been the fruit of change. Its own life has been enriched by many variations wrought by contact with a varied world beyond Arabia. We must follow these two phases of its history, what we may call traditionally: (1) the *Sunnah*, the "Way" of Muhammad, which is the essence of Islamic orthodoxy; and (2) the *Shiah*, "sectarian divergence," with its heresies of head and its heresies of heart. First we follow *Sunnah*, from Muhammad on.

THE PROPHET. Muhammad (A.D. 570-632), next to Allah, is the potent name throughout Islam, potent still among one-seventh of mankind. It has been the inspiration of the hero and the martyr; lives, goods, households, and dynasties have been gladly risked on its behalf, often with success and empire as rewards. While the grandeur of world dominion is no more, the Prophet's name is held in honor by his people.

Muhammad was an Arab, born in Mecca, in "the year of the elephant," as it was reckoned; that is, in the year made memorable by the appearance of an African elephant in an army that beleaguered Mecca. The enemy had come from Yemen to avenge an alleged violation of a Christian shrine in South Arabia by some relative of a pagan Meccan tribe. It was a futile demonstration; they withdrew—put to flight, the Meccans thought, by the Meccan god. Mu-

hammad later said it was "the Lord" that caused their stratagem to miscarry, by sending birds with clay stones to hurl upon them.

The child, whatever his name then was, was inconspicuously born in this memorable, auspicious year. He was humbly reared, his parents, Abdullah and Aminah, being in meager circumstances although related to the ruling tribe, the Koreish (*Quraysh*). Abdullah died before the child was born; Aminah, when the lad was six years old. The orphan went first to live with his father's father and then with his father's brother, Abu Talib. As a youth he was a shepherd and herdsman in the neighborhood; later on he took to caravanning. Once on a journey he got as far from home as East Jordan. He rose to be the leader of a caravan, entrusted with the goods of a wealthy Meccan widow named Khadijah. He was successful on the venture, doubly successful—he became the husband of Khadijah. This gave him his own house and heightened reputation. It gave him ease of mind. It gave him opportunity to satisfy a longing for religion. From twenty-five to forty his commercial interest and activities slowly waned, while he became a seeker for the one God. There were *hanifs*, or "seekers," among the pagan Arabs of those days; there were Jews with their creed and ritual of Yahweh, the One God; there were Christian monks and anchorites. All these had their influence on Muhammad.

The times were ripe for reformation, and a major Arab prophet of reform was in the making. Having heard of prophets among the Jews and Christians, he began to wonder at the lack of any prophet of the Arabs. Would he be the Arab prophet? Many factors, psychological and objective, entered into his transformation. He mused, he prayed. At last a crisis came. Once as he prayed, as was his custom, in a cave beyond the city's rim of hills, the "Lord" (*Rabb*), whom he had sought, announced himself and gave the seeker his divine commission.⁵ He did not learn at this time the Lord's name, but he felt his sovereignty. The prophet of the Arabs then emerged. This happened in our

year 610, Muhammad's forty-first. For twenty years thereafter, he filled the increasingly comprehensive role of prophet,⁶ pattern, and builder of a state.

At first, however, he moved cautiously. He was not altogether certain of himself. He harbored for a while the thought that maybe he was mad (*majnun*, "bejinned"). Also, he was aware that Meccan paganism was deep-rooted and violently jealous of its institutions. His confidence returned through renewed revelations from the Lord; but he did not abandon caution. He practiced patience; patience was a virtue which the Lord explicitly commended. He carried on his mission secretly, winning converts to Islam both in Mecca and beyond, establishing connections with other tribes than the Quraysh, especially in Yathrib, later called Medina. At last his mission was suspected by the Meccan tribesmen and the issue was forced into the open. The line of cleavage then was drawn between Islam and paganism. The resentment of the pagans burned hot against their reforming kinsman, and their hostile pressure grew dangerous and intolerable. For a while the ties of blood preserved his life; but Islam had severed blood connections! Muhammad and the Muslims fled (A.D. 622), to be cordially received in Yathrib, where many influential converts had been won who felt highly honored by the Prophet's presence.

THE HIJRAH. Muhammad's "flight" (*hijrah*, "journey") from Mecca to Medina marks the transition from the old Arab pagan era to the new Islamic. It marks, also, a further transformation in the Prophet's office. In Mecca, Muhammad was the simple, earnest messenger of Allah. He had learned the Lord's true name. He came to know that Allah tolerated no association of any other name or power with his own. In this respect, the Prophet of Arabia came to view the other gods as "vanities," as the Hebrew Jeremiah at last had done. Muhammad knew there could no more be two Gods in the world than "two hearts in one man." The Qur'ân, sura 112, proclaims this as revelation: "Say: He alone is God; God is eternal; He begetteth not,

and is not begotten; and there has been none like unto Him." This is the gist of the Qur'ân. The Muslims rate these fifteen Arabic words as "one-third the value" of the whole book! ⁷ Muhammad challenged Meccan and Arabian paganism (polytheism), denounced specific gods by name, and prophesied hell fire for all their worshipers.

In Medina, "the city" (of the Prophet), Muhammad lived ten years. He sat as judge as well as prophet, under Allah's guidance. He adjusted feudal differences among the citizens; he substituted Muslim brotherhood for blood ties; he annihilated groups of enemies; he instituted rites, including the postures of *salat*, for various occasions of worship; he learned what God would have men do in various situations and relationships. And from the point of vantage in Medina he laid his plans for winning Mecca. He never lost his Meccan heritage. That is, the *Ka'bah* ⁸ was "the House of Allah"; the waters of Zemzem were holy; they had burst forth first at God's command to quench the thirst of Ishmael, son of Abraham, the "first Muslim," and the "father of the faithful." Mecca was beloved of Allah, was his peculiar seat. Muhammad, therefore, would not rest until he had purged it of non-Islamic elements and had made it the capital of Islam. Although during the first years in Medina, Muhammad had directed prayer toward Jerusalem, he had turned about; for many years Mecca had been the *qiblah*. He had sought to make the Meccan pilgrimage, before the city was his, and had been allowed by an armistice to do so. Then in 630 Mecca fell by capitulation. The *Ka'bah*, the Black Stone, and Zemzem were purged of pagan connotations; the "days of ignorance" were gone; Allah was sole Lord in his own House. In fact, the *Ka'bah* became the symbol of the larger house which Muhammad had built, the Dar al-Islam, the "House of Islam."

SUNNAH. Look now at this larger house, the home of Sunnah, built of the words of Allah, and of sayings of the Prophet, on certain pillars of the faith. It is an exclusive house, excluding all save those who have submitted. Those who have not submitted, or who do not enjoy some

special privilege, live in what the Muslims call the House of War (the Dar al-Harb). The Dar al-Islam is a house of brotherhood, a fraternity more than a sorority, in contrast with the tribal system it displaced. In pagan days a man acted with his tribe. "The strength of the pack was the wolf, and the strength of the wolf was the pack," as Kipling phrases it. Morality was tribal; each member conformed with the customs of his tribe in dealing with other tribesmen. A double standard was maintained, save that there was, of necessity, a certain common chivalry; it was "unlawful" for any tribe to foul wells or water-courses, for example; and certain "truces of God" were to be observed. Morality was feudal. It demanded an eye for an eye, or a life for a life; but it might allow settlement on an economic basis, say ten camels for a man.

Muhammad's brotherhood abolished tribal and feudal morals; but it may remain a question as to whether he precluded the application of a double standard. His brotherhood was religious. Loyalty to Allah was supreme, exclusive. Morals were what Allah enjoined. But the innovation was not mere speculation; it emerged from a concrete situation, shaped by common sense. The Muslim "fugitives" (*muhajirun*) from Mecca were taken in as brothers by the Yathribites, sharing bed and board; they had cut the ties of tribalism and had forged new ties of faith. Later they actually slew in battle (Badr, 624) members of their own immediate families, thereby sealing the innovation. Allah revealed a new order which won the day. After Muhammad the Muslims came to know by experience that Allah would tolerate no caste, no color-line, no inequalities in religion. Witness the Pilgrimage throughout the centuries. As the House expanded through foreign conquests, it came to hold a wide variety of peoples: not only fair Arabs and their black-skinned slaves from the Sudan, but also dark men of Syria and Egypt; yellow-skins of Turkestan and China; fierce-eyed Afghan mountaineers; pale-faced, tall Circassians; wiry, nut-brown men of Hindustan; and brown-hued Moros of the Philippines, all brothers and equals in

the sight of Allah. Slaves have been kings; women have been sultanas. Intermarriage is a common practice. Muhammad said, "Muslims are brothers in religion; they must not oppress each other, nor fail to assist each other, nor hold each other in contempt," and, "No Muslim has perfectly believed until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself."

It may be no special condemnation that a "House of War" is recognized and that the rights of brotherhood do not apply therein. Russian Christians held pogroms, in which the Jews were mercilessly slain. Jews at one time "had no dealings with Samaritans." The Sikh Khalsa rid itself of Muslim enemies. Nor has Islam extended its dominion by the sword alone. It has tolerated Christians, Jews, and Sabians, as "peoples of the Book." It has been a missionary faith, winning converts by force of doctrine, social pressure, economic privileges bestowed, and the satisfaction of human aspirations.

THE PILLARS OF THE HOUSE. Muhammad built the House upon five "pillars." These represent five obligations incumbent upon every loyal adherent. Whatever freedom a Muslim has enjoyed, or may enjoy, he remains bound by duties whose discharge display his faith *in action*:

1. The "Witness," or Confession of the Faith: "I testify that there is no God but Allah; I testify that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah." One must ever be ready to give witness, not only daily at the hours of prayer but at any time, especially in an emergency. It is the pledge of loyalty. The Muslim merchant-missionary may use it to confirm a convert (in the presence of two witnesses). If the faithful warrior utter it with his dying breath, it becomes the seal of martyrdom. It veils no speculative subtlety; it represents a plain, indisputable assertion, the fact of God, his sole reality, and the fulness of his power.

2. Prayers (*salat* and *du'a*), formal prayers at five appointed times⁹ each day: in the early morning just after sunrise; at noon when the sun has crossed the zenith; in mid-afternoon; in the evening just after sunset; and when

the night has fallen. The posturing itself is prayer, but it is accompanied by recitation, silent or spoken. *Salat*, especially, is *the* "pillar."

3. Almsgiving, of two sorts. Second only in importance to the duty of ritual prayer is *zakat*, frequently referred to as an alms tithe or poor tax, but actually best understood as a property and income tax. It is true that one of its purposes was to make provision for the poor and needy. Muhammad levied the tax immediately after the migration from Mecca to Medina and in this way provided the Medina government with funds for the care of poor refugees. This was not, however, an innovation on the part of Muhammad, since it merely perpetuated the ancient tax of about 2.5 per cent paid by tribesmen of Arabia to their chieftains to recompense them for extra expenses, such as entertaining important travelers and making sure that the poor had enough to eat. As later incorporated into Shari'a law, the funds were to be distributed among eight categories of people mentioned in the Qur'ân (sura 9:60). In the development of the Islamic state, the *zakat* served as an early income tax, but in the course of time taxes of other kinds superseded the *zakat*, and its payment now is a voluntary matter, except in Saudi Arabia, where the Shari'a laws are still enforced and the *zakat* is collected by government officials. Side by side with this originally obligatory tax, intended for the poor and needy, the payment of voluntary charitable gifts (*sadaqah*) has always been regarded as highly meritorious in Islam.

4. Fasting, at any time, but particularly in the month of Ramadan.¹⁰ In this month no food or drink may pass one's lips, from sunup to sundown. There are two elements in the fasting: (a) the intention to make abstention from all physical refreshment. This is what gives fasting its religious value; (b) the actual abstinence during the days of Ramadan. Al-Ghazali says that its spiritual value is training for control of the passions and increasing one's sympathy for the poor.

5. Pilgrimage¹¹ to Mecca once in a lifetime, either in person, or by proxy. Muhammad spoke more of this than of prayers, alms, and fasting. He had it in mind as a means of unity among his people, scarcely realizing how widely the faith would spread. Making the pilgrimage is impossible for most, even by proxy. Prayer toward Mecca has largely taken its place and has supplied the unity of consciousness which the Prophet sought. Nevertheless, Mecca itself is the goal, if possible, and distinction attaches to all who make the journey.

These are the minimum requirements, upon which all doctors of Islamic law (*fiqh*) agree. They are simple enough for every man to understand, and for the most part capable of execution. The Muslim may, therefore, always know the tests of his religion. These duties were not ordained *as such* in any rounded program of obedience, but each detail is based on some prophetic revelation. Some doctors have included "holy war" (*jihad*), making a list of six. But Muhammad did not clearly designate *jihad* a "pillar," for it operates from a different motive. The five are explicitly imposed on all believers. Each of the five applies primarily to individuals. *Jihad* represents Islam at war; it became a social obligation. Muhammad set the precedent for martial action. Once, using the sanguinary term *qatilu*, "killing," he bade his people: "Fight until there be no other faith than Allah's"; but he gave example, also, of tolerance toward non-Muslims whose religion was contained in scriptures, and modified the duty of unremitting warfare. *Jihad* is "defensive war," by definition of the doctors; the Muslim need not fight unless the faith be threatened from without.

THE QUR'ÂN. Hear now the "words" (*kalimat*) of Allah found in al-Qur'ân. The Qur'ân is like the "roll of a book," which Jeremiah had from Yahweh against Israel and Judah (cf. Jer. 36). It is a "reading" from Allah. It contains Muhammad's "recitation" of what Allah enabled him to "read" when he needed guidance or when Allah had some burden to lay on him. "Allah it is who hath sent down the Book"

(Qur'ân 3:4,5). It is genuine, "no imposture," said Muhammad to his critics. It is the only body of authentic revelations, and is, incidentally, the one trustworthy source of our knowledge of the Prophet's life. It is the record of his earnest quest for God and true religion. The earlier chapters, in particular, show sincerity on his part, although some later passages disclose the opportunist and the politician. No parts may rightly be considered the fruitage of a disordered brain, or the by-products of an abnormal personality. Muhammad's own doubt when his career began is evidence that he was sincere; he suffered in agony during a cessation of revelation. Naturally the passages vary with varying circumstances. The "readings" were received throughout the twenty years of his active mission, under manifold conditions.

The Qur'ânic materials were not written down by Muhammad. He spoke them, and they were orally transmitted for a while. Some persons who heard them committed them exactly, or recorded them on palm leaf, parchment, or the bleached shoulder blades of animals. There came to be many "readers" who knew the Qur'ân by heart. After the Prophet's death, when readers were dying and records liable to perish in the confusion of the times, the readings were compiled into a single volume. They were arranged in *suras*, "rows,"¹² or chapters, but not in order of either time or topic. There are 114 *suras*, each with a title, which may or may not represent a main idea, ranging as a whole from the largest to the smallest chapter, save that the *Fatiha*, or "opener," contains only seven verses. The second, the Sura of the Cow, contains 286, and the last has six. Actually the one hundred and eighth is the shortest, with only ten words in three verses. The whole Qur'ân is the smallest basic scripture of any great religion, scarcely two-thirds the size of the New Testament. It is also, possibly, the best authenticated, for it was arranged so early that it must contain the *ipsissima verba* of the Prophet; it has come down almost unaltered. That its terms

have proved, at times, to be obscure is not due to alteration in transmission but to lack of understanding of their ancient connotations; they are often variously interpreted.

The little book cannot be summarized in brief, for it covers a wide range of subjects. As it stands it lacks coherence. It must be rearranged, if anything of sequence be discovered in it.¹³ The casual reader of it finds it dull. The serious student may misunderstand it, for lack of knowledge of Arabian psychology and history and because of its confusion. One encounters, also, the baffling theory of abrogation by which a later revelation has rescinded an earlier one, without expunging the latter from the Book (cf. Qur'ân, 2:100). Muslims all together admit 225 abrogated passages. See Qur'ân, sura 2, verse 109, which says: "Whichever way ye turn, there is the face of Allah," and sura 2, verse 139, which bids men pray toward Mecca. Other abrogations often do not operate so clearly. Then, too, the serious student finds himself involved in the science of theology (*al-Kalam*), if he would know the book. But there are several passages which may be taken as the gist of what Muhammad taught directly from Allah. Take, for example, sura 17, verses 23-40:

Put no other god with Allah. . . . Thy Lord hath decreed that ye bow down to none except himself, that ye show kindness to your parents . . . speak to them respectfully, and defer to them humbly in tenderness. . . . He is gracious to those who render their due to kindred, the poor, and the wayfarer, and are not wasteful. . . . Let not thy hand be tied to thy neck, nor yet open it completely, lest thou sit thee down in beggary. . . . Kill not your children for fear of want: God will provide for them and you. . . . Be not adulterous, for it is foul and evil . . . Slay no one whom God hath forbidden you to slay; whoever is slain wrongfully, his heir shall be recompensed. . . . Touch not the substance of an orphan, except rightfully . . . Give full measure when you measure, and weigh with a just balance. . . . Walk not proudly on the earth, for thou canst not rend it, nor canst thou be in size a mountain: these are evils, hateful to thy Lord.

Or, sura 5, verses 39 ff.:

Fear Allah. Desire union with him. Strive earnestly in his way, that ye may prosper. . . . If a man or woman steal, cut off the hands

in recompense. . . . We have sent down the Law (*tawrat*) wherein are guidance and light, and whereby the prophets prophesied who professed Islam . . . We caused Jesus, son of Mary, to follow in the footsteps of the prophets, confirming the law which was before him, and we gave him the evangel with its guidance and its light. . . . If God had pleased he would surely have made you all one people. . . . To God shall all return. . . . Be on your guard against (Jews and Christians), lest they beguile thee from God's precepts. . . . Take not Jews or Christians as your friends. . . . If any of you believers should desert his faith, God will then raise up a people loved by him and haughty toward all infidels. . . . On whom God wills bestows he grace. God is vast, omniscient. Your protector is God and his apostle, and those who believe, who observe prayer, and pay the legal alms, and who bow in worship, are your friends. . . . They are truly the people of God; they shall gain the mastery. . . . God guideth not the unbelievers. . . . Be not troubled for Jews and Sabians and Christians who believe in God and the last day and do what is right. . . . They are infidels who say "God is the Messiah, the son of Mary," or who say, "God is the third of three." . . . There is no God but the one God. . . . Be faithful to your engagements. . . . Avoid wine and games of chance, and statues, and divining-rods, which are the work of Satan who would thus sow strife and hatred in your midst. . . . Kill no game while you are on pilgrimage; eat fish. . . . God hath appointed the Ka'bah an asylum for mankind. . . . Unto God belonged the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth, and of all that they contain, and he hath power over all things.

THE REFORMATION. These two statements are not comprehensive, nor are their items quite consistent; but they illustrate the social and religious program of the Prophet. They illustrate his dependence and his originality. He drew on many sources for his message, but his own experience and insight moulded them. He was reared a pagan, and frankly admitted the retention of pagan elements (cf. Qur'ân, 3:90; 22:30); but he learned about the customs and teachings of the Jews and Christians. He knew Abraham and Jesus, but the former was his ideal. He uses many Christian terms, such as Satan, Hell, evangel, idol, pulpit, and apostle, and through Christianity got his ideas of the resurrection and the judgment (cf. the "last day"). He uses many Jewish terms, such as law, ark, paradise, fasting, prayer, and angels, and the bulk of his tradition is primarily

Semitic. The Christianity he knew was heretical in doctrine and low morally. He turned against both Jews and Christians for their drunkenness.

As the statements indicate, these were among his accomplishments: a general elevation of prevailing standards of life and thought; advocacy of a redistribution of wealth and the elimination of poverty; restriction of murder; the prohibition of the killing of female children "for want"; the regulation of polygamy in a land where women were often in the great majority; provision for a regular procedure in divorce. He put a ban on gambling, on commercial interest (Muslims later resorted to "discount" instead of "interest"), and on alcoholic drinks. But the motive of reform was God. His God-idea was a bold assumption. He insisted that men accept it without question, "without how," or why. He pointed out God's manifest omnipotence and providence and refused to speculate about them. He talked of God's omniscience, God "knowing what is in men's hearts." It is not surprising that Islam speaks about a "fore-knowing" and a "foreordaining" God. But the Prophet was not predestinarian, or deterministic, unreservedly. He was not so speculative. In practical vein he attributed to man some freedom, some control over his own acts, "following his own inclinations."

The God-idea, more than the moral reformation, constituted the innovation, the chief disturbance of the Meccan situation. It has ever since brought Muslims into conflict with other faiths, not only "infidels" whom it is right to slay, unless they "turn," but, also, Jews, Christians, Parsis, Hindus, and all non-Muslims. In fact, Muhammad was opposed to Christians for their "three gods" (God, Jesus, and Mary). Islam is most insistent on the dogma that Allah brooks no rivals.

CREED. The Creed, formulated mainly on the basis of the "words" of Allah found in the Qur'ân, has consisted of six items:

1. Belief in Allah, such is God's "essential name," for whom the witness must be given; Allah who rules from afar

(20:4; 13:2), encompasses all (41:54; 17:62), is personally near to every believer (96:16; 11:64), dwells within men's hearts as His own inner witness to Himself (51:21; 96:13);

2. Belief in Angels, especially Gabriel, the angel of revelation, through whom Muhammad heard God's utterances (Gabriel read from the heavenly tablet on which God's words were inscribed);
3. Belief in the Qur'ân as the word of God, taken as it stands, and in its clearly indicated meaning;
4. Belief in prophets, especially Muhammad. There are twenty-eight in all, but six are worthiest, each with a special name: Adam, the "chosen of God"; Noah, the "preacher of God"; Abraham, the "friend of God"; Moses, the "converser with God"; Jesus, the "spirit of God"; and Muhammad, the "apostle of God," worthiest of praise.
5. Belief in the Judgment, whose issues mean Heaven for the worthy and Hell for the unworthy, both places being regions of permanent abode in delight, or torment; and
6. Belief in the Omnipotence and finality of Allah.

HADITH. We come now to the "sayings" of the Prophet, as distinguished from the "words" of Allah. They are called "traditions" (*hadith*), and have had far-reaching influence. The Prophet gave them as opinions on all kinds of themes, and the faithful have added to them freely. The Sayings altogether are innumerable; but the doctors have segregated those acceptable as "genuine" (*sahih*). One of the best editions is, however, three times the size of the Qur'ân. Muhammad the man talked on far more topics than Muhammad the Apostle. Various factions have followed various *hadith*, and have freely fabricated them in support of positions, political or religious, unless some plain meaning of the Qur'ân prevented. Many *hadith* are elaborations of Qur'ânic verses; for example, the Qur'ânic curse on those who trade in wine is applied to ten specific persons from producer to consumer. Others are less directly related to anything Qur'ânic; for example, "The holder of a monopoly is a sinner"; "A martyr shall be pardoned every fault but debt"; "Pay the laborer before his perspiration dry"; "No

judge shall decide between two persons when he is angry"; "Woman is man's worst calamity"; "God dislikes divorce"; "Fear God in respect to animalism"; "A king is God's shadow upon the earth"; "Government is a truth from God"; "He is strong who withholds himself from anger"; "A bell is the devil's instrument"; "The calamity of knowledge is forgetfulness"; "The best person near God is the best amongst his friends"; "The best of men is Ali"; "The hearts of men are at God's disposal"; with many trivialities, as well as mingled wit and wisdom.

THE LAW. If we turn now to religious law, we shall complete our survey of the Sunnah. There are four accepted schools, each of which worked over the mass of materials at its disposal and composed a system of rules and regulations. These regulations have applied in various regions throughout Sunni Islam, where strictly civil codes were not relied on. This law was final in the early days when religion and the state were one. Varying emphases on constituent materials brought varying interpretations of the Law. One school conservatively held to Qur'anic exposition; others found authority in *hadith*, and even ventured beyond *hadith* and adopted such principles as the Roman Catholic Church has used, namely, agreement, analogy, and opinion. While Islam has never held church councils nor adopted an elaborate creed, religious Law has claimed to represent authority in faith and practice.

The four schools had become established within two centuries after the Prophet's death. We know them by their founders, Abu Hanifa, Malik ibn-Anas, al-Shafi'i, and ibn-Hanbal. They lived in the golden period of empire. During these centuries Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Asia Minor, Iraq, and Persia were added to original Arabia. In consequence of this expansion social, political, cultural, and religious changes had occurred. The schools of Law sought to provide procedure for the conduct of affairs in accordance with religion.

1. The Hanifite, founded by Abu Hanifa (d. A.D. 767), a Persian who wrote in Arabic. He accepted the Qur'ân,

but as a non-Arab, he had little interest in *hadith*, or in Medina, the home of *hadith*. He extended the Qur'ân by means of analogy (*qiyas*), and opinion (*ra'y*). If he found for a case at law no exact precedent in the Qur'ân, he drew an agreeable analogy, whether from the Qur'ân, or from the local situation. If need be, for lack of precedent, he resorted to opinion in the light of local circumstances. He even ventured to run counter to the Qur'ân if his ruling "seemed better" (*istihsan*) for the locality. Among adherents to his interpretation have been the Abbasid rulers of Baghdad, the Osmanli Turks, and many chieftains of North India and Central Asia. The Hanifites are liberals.

2. The Malikite, founded by Malik ibn Anas (d. A.D. 795), an Arab judge of Medina. To the Qur'ân he added the *hadith*—he lived amidst *hadith*. He proposed, also, "agreement or consensus of opinion" (*ijma*)—the *ijma* of Medina, naturally. He found use for analogy and opinion, but relied on Qur'ân, *hadith*, and *ijma*, especially. If analogy and opinion were in conflict, he would base his judgment upon "public advantage," or "the common good" (*istislah*). His system has prevailed in Arabia, Upper Egypt, among the Berbers of North Africa, and in Spain. The Malikites are liberal conservatives.

3. The Shafiite, founded by al-Shafi'i (d. A.D. 819), an Arab of Persia. He was more liberal than Malik but less so than Abu Hanifa. He accepted *hadith* as equal with the Qur'ân; in fact, he might prefer some *hadith* above Qur'ân if the *hadith* with reference to the case in hand were later than the Qur'ânic reference. He would abrogate Qur'ân by *hadith*; he was a liberal traditionalist. He used analogy and agreement but rejected opinion in any form, whether for better or for the common good. He found freedom of interpretation through employing the "agreement" of any time, or place, not merely that of early Islam in Medina. Among his followers have been the lawyers (*qadis*) of Syria, Lower Egypt, and South India.

4. The Hanbalite, founded by ibn-Hanbal (d. A.D. 855), an Arab of Baghdad. He was once a pupil of al-Shafi'i but

reacted against liberalism, both in thought and conduct. He is an archconservative. His time was one of liberality, even laxity. He was reared in the days of the Khalif Harun, which closed characteristically in "Arabian nights." Abu Nuwas, who had drunk and jested with Harun, had sung of four things which "banish grief and care, . . . water, wine, gardens bright, and faces fair"; impudently called for wine at times of prayer,

Whilst the flask goes twinkling round,
Pour me a cup that leaves me drowned
With oblivion, ne'er so nigh
Let the shrill muezzin cry!

And Mamun, a successor of Harun, had declared for rationalism and the Shiite heresy. Against these heresies of doctrine and life, ibn-Hanbal waged a strenuous battle. He was often persecuted and imprisoned; but he won a following, although the smallest of the schools. He confined his usage to the Qur'ân, interpreting it by letter. His chief followers have been the Wahhabis of Arabia, who now control Saudi Arabia with the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Conservatism scored again in terms of isolation.

These schools of Law show concretely the variations which accompanied the growth of Islam as a state. Comparatively early the state had recourse more and more, however, to civil law, leaving the schools to guide religion, when their rulings did not contravene the civil code. Religious law is still influential in religion but has little power in politics; it is scarcely more potent than Roman Catholic canon law is in Roman Catholic nations.

SHIAH: ALI AND OTHERS. The other main division of Islam is Shiah, concentrated mainly in Persia, Pakistan, and north India. Shiahs hold Muhammad in sincere regard but consider him the *nabi*, "prophet" of Islam, while revering Ali, his cousin and son-in-law, as *wali Allah*, "friend of God," and the Imam or "pattern."

Ali was the son of Muhammad's uncle, Abu Talib, who gave him a home in his youth. The cousins were friendly playmates and adult companions. Once Ali saved Muhammad's life, when an assassin came seeking him in his father's house. Ali later married Fatima, the Prophet's daughter by Khadijah. He had two sons, Hasan and Husayn, through whom a line of blood descent was established from the Prophet. Further prestige was accorded Ali by his election to the Khalifat (caliphate), fourth in succession to Muhammad. These offices came to be referred by his partisans to certain passages in the Qur'ân, thus claiming for him the favor of Allah and Muhammad. The Qur'ânic *wali*, "friend, or one who is very near" (to God), is found in sura 10, verse 63. The word *imam* occurs in sura 2, verse 118: "I [Allah] am about to make thee (Abraham) an *imam* (pattern, or leader) to mankind." The word *ali*, "high," or "exalted," occurs in several passages (e.g., 4:38; 42:51) in connection with God himself; and while these passages do not refer to Ali, they provide excellent materials for legend. Alid partisans went even further; they fabricated an *hadith*, making Muhammad say on his return from Mecca to Medina, after the farewell pilgrimage: "I shall soon be called back to heaven; I leave you two important bequests, the Qur'ân and my family." The reference, say the Shiites, is to the family of Ali; they point, also, to Qur'ân, sura 33, verse 33, with its reference to Muhammad's "household."

The Alid legend refers to the Prophet's going back to heaven; time and circumstance had combined to generate the theory of Muhammad's divinity, or to allow the Prophet's family a peculiar spiritual quality. With Ali as *imam*, he joins the line of Abraham; becomes "exalted" (*ali*). This is germinal divinity for Ali, if no more; and it is not far to the establishment of a divine *imamate* in contrast with the obviously human *caliphate*. Muhammad made no such provision for the government after him; a succession was merely the natural outcome of events. But political contingencies, combined with the raw materials of the Qur'ân

and with fabricated sayings of Muhammad, created for Ali through his partisans a strong case for him as the rightful leader of Islam. Deprived of his rights (?) until after Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman in succession had filled the caliphate, his friends grounded his claims not on election but on blood and spiritual relation. They declared the first three caliphs spurious. Alids have held that there has been but one duly qualified Caliph, Ali. After him, also, have been interlopers, with the rights of true succession in the office never recognized. Instead, the imamate has represented true religion. Shiism is a combination of political ambition and religious fervor, based upon the imamship of the divine Ali and his descendants.

Shiism did not grow directly out of Arab soil. Its fundamental doctrine of divinity, Muhammad's, Ali's, and others', is manifestly contrary to original Islam and to the Arab mind. It was first conceived by Abdallah ibn Saba, a Jew of Yemen. According to a "saying," he once remarked to Ali, "Thou art God." This saying may be only a garbling of sura 4, verse 38, *inna Allaha kana aliiyyan*, "Verily Allah is exalted," making it, "Verily Ali is Allah." Abdallah was a malcontent in the days of 'Uthman, Ali's predecessor, finding political capital in such doctrines as the return of Muhammad (cf. Qur'ân 28:85), the sanctity of Ali's family, and Ali's apostleship. Ali in the end, while Caliph, objected to the veneration of himself, banishing Abdallah to Persia, where the exile transferred his allegiance from Ali in particular to Shiism in general, as the opposition movement. Persian Shiism was taking on a character broader than merely Alid. Particular Alids and general Shiites have often been at variance.

Shiism in general is largely Persian, representing the perpetuation of a pre-Islamic heritage. Persians before Islam had long believed in the divinity of kings and in kingship by divine appointment: "royal" and "divine" were synonyms. Aliism was bound to thrive in Persia. The divinity of Ali and of his line was ultimately accepted as a fundamental dogma by all Shiites. The dogma had little

chance to win the caliphate while Baghdad was the imperial capital, while the Abbasids (Abbas was Muhammad's uncle) ruled successively by "election" (by election, in theory; by descent, or usurpation, in practice). During the Abbasid days the Shiites nourished the divine imamate. Inevitably, however, there were dissensions among them, and rival candidates for power. Each organized his propaganda, and, with opportunity, fomented a political disturbance. The nearest Shiites came to government in Abbasid days (until A.D. 1258) was through certain favored ministers, or through such action as that of the orthodox (?) Mamun, who declared for rationalism and adopted Shiite green as the color of the state. The imamate eventually divided into two: (1) the "Seveners," who insisted that the *visible* line of "leaders" ended in A.D. 770, when the *seventh* rightful imam died, without the appointment of a successor; and (2) the "Twelvers," who maintained the legitimacy of the line until A.D. 870, when the *twelfth* imam mysteriously disappeared at Samarra. The Twelvers constitute the great majority of living Shiites. The Shahs of Persia have been representatives of the invisible imam. In the absence of a visible imam to whom allegiance could be sworn, the theory of an invisible imam to come in time of crisis prevailed. Crises have been numerous, and many messianic imams and Mahdis have appeared. A certain Ubaydullah claimed descent from Fatima, the Prophet's daughter (rather than from either of her sons by Ali), and announced himself the Mahdi. His dynasty, the Fatimid, ruled in Africa and Egypt from 909 until Saladin supplanted it in 1171. Lord Kitchener of Khartum fought a later Mahdi in the Sudan. The Syrian Assassins (from *hashish*, a hemp concoction) were a sect of Shiites. The Indian Ahmadiyyas produced a Mahdi recently. Shiism has honeycombed Islam, whether as religious or political propaganda.

KARBALA. Perhaps an illustration may help us understand the genius of the heresy. There is a village, Karbala, fifty miles southwest of Baghdad, the center of Shiite devotion. It holds the tomb of al-Husayn, younger son of

Ali, who fell a martyr at a time of crisis. He was the third Imam, after his father and his brother al-Hasan. In the Muslim year 61, with sixty-five adherents, he set out for Kufa in Iraq, once his father's capital, intent upon establishing himself with Kufan aid as Caliph in opposition to Yazid, the rightful Caliph seated in Damascus. Yazid sent an army to Kufa, which quieted the city, and planned to intercept Husayn in the neighborhood of Karbala nearby. Peaceful overtures met with obstinate resistance from the party of Husayn, with several skirmishes resulting. On the evening of the ninth day, following evening prayer, the Kufan forces closed in on Husayn. Shiite tradition makes the night one of bitter trial, and sorrowful tears on the part of Husayn and his little company, and one of violent abuse and sacrilege on the part of their enemies—sacrilege, for the very blood of Muhammad flowed in Husayn's veins. Next morning, Husayn, realizing the hopelessness of his position, bathed and anointed himself with musk and made ready for his "martyrdom." In the fighting, Husayn's little son was slain by a flying arrow, a nephew was mutilated by swords and daggers, and he, himself, even while his sister shielded him (a sign of her devotion rather than his cowardice), was wounded in the mouth by a well-aimed arrow. At last the enemy pressed in furiously and Husayn fell with many wounds, his body to be mangled shamelessly by the horse of one relentless rider.

This tragic episode has been amplified by details of fact and fancy into a stirring drama, which has taken hold of the imagination of half the Muslim world. It is more than Shiite, since it concerns Muhammad. Into the warp of the bare incidents have been woven timeless details of angels, kings, prophets, revelation, the pre-existence of Muhammad, the divinity of Ali, the saviorhood of Hasan and Husayn, vice and virtue, the resurrection and the final judgment, and the sole reality of Allah and Islam. In Persia and some other parts of the Shiite world this drama is more or less extemporaneously enacted every year, during the ten closing days of the month of Ramadan. The scene wants noth-

ing to make up a powerful passion play. At times it has engendered religious fervor boundlessly fanatical and political outbursts of unprecedented fury. Its theology, on the other hand, is simple. Ali was the divine afflatus, the very glory of Allah which first shone in Muhammad who transmitted it to Ali as his successor and the rightful leader, through himself and his family, of Islam. Husayn was not only a martyr; he was the divine imam, and the savior of his people. By his death he atoned for mankind's sin and became man's avenue of access unto God.

The more thoughtful Shiites have been liberals, theologically and philosophically. They have not believed the Qur'ân eternal. They have assumed some freedom of the will and of action on man's part; for they have deemed God just; he punishes men only for the sins for which they are responsible. They have believed in the unity of God but have been averse to reason as a means of understanding him, and they have emphasized the mystical experience of God.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM. The development of Islam—and its character today—as religion, theology, ethics, and philosophy, may be more comprehensively portrayed through a description of the course of three effective principles which have operated from the early days: *naql*, the “traditional,” *aql*, the “rational”; and *kashf*, the “mystical.” These three have operated both in orthodoxy and in heresy, although the first is strictly orthodox, and the other two have given rise to heresies.

Naql, or tradition, was pre-eminent in two early periods: from the death of Muhammad until about A.D. 785; and from about A.D. 850 to 900. While it has endured since then, it has been disputed by the advocates of *aql* and the devotees of *kashf*, especially from 785 to 850, when *aql* was pre-eminent, and from 1000 until 1500, when *kashf* as well as *aql* enjoyed great influence. The latter era might be called the golden age of Muslim thought, as distinct from empire.

Little more need here be said about tradition (*naql*); it was summed up, in essence, while we studied Sunnah.

Something more is necessary, however, to understand the scholastic adaptation. There occurred a movement comparable with the movement headed by Aquinas. This movement, both in Islam and in Christianity, sought to reconcile religion and philosophy, or the traditional and the rational. In Islam the scholastic theologian was Ashari.

REASON AND THE RATIONALISTS. Ali ibn-Ismail al-Ashari (*ca.* A.D. 873–941) was an Arab born in Ashar, a part of Basrah, in Iraq. He later made his home in Baghdad. In Basrah Ashari first attached himself to a rationalistic group under the master al-Jubbai. Such groups had flourished for a century in Iraq, Syria, and elsewhere (but not in the Hejaz). They were called Mutazilites, “separatists,” or “come-outers.” They were rebels against orthodoxy and tradition. While Mamun was Caliph (813–833) in Baghdad, their system was adopted as the state religion. Both Hellenistic and Persian elements, especially the former, appear in it. How lax and revolutionary were these Mutazilites, to whom Ashari was at first attracted, will appear from this hasty summary of their ideas:

1. They were the leading Muslim rationalists, employing *aql* as a proper source of religious knowledge along with revelation. In fact, they made *aql*, or reason, the final standard of their judgment in matters of religion. They held that there is both a natural and a revealed knowledge of God; that the natural knowledge may be ultimately obtained apart from revelation; and that if Muslims stay in ignorance, it is because they shut their eyes and minds to nature.

2. They insisted on the unity of Allah, and denied whatever infringed upon his unity, claiming in this manner to be truly Muslim. They rejected, as applied to God, all the manlike figures of the Qur’ân. They denied that God sits upon a throne, or in any manner occupies a place, being thus dependent. They denied that God has hands, feet, eyes, and a body of flesh and blood, being thus dependent upon his motion, his sight, etc. They insisted that God

could be seen everywhere, as Muhammad had once said, and need not be worshiped in any one direction, as Muhammad later said he should be.

3. They accepted the Qur'ân as revelation, but they held to their own view of it, interpreting its words in harmony with reason (*their own* reason). The essential Qur'ân, they said, is the very "word of Allah" (the *kalam Allahi*). They did not believe in the "eternity" of the Book, or in its co-existence with Allah himself. Their view was that in a sense the Qur'ân was created, and that it consisted of sounds, letters, etc., which were "revealed in time." They clearly saw that any notion of the Qur'ân's "eternity" demanded a literal interpretation of the Book. The Qur'ân was not that sort of *kalam Allahi*. The Qur'ân was the "word of God" in somewhat the same fashion as Christians speak of Jesus as the "Word [*logos*] of God." They did not think God's words could be fully written in a book.

4. They insisted upon God's justice, outraging orthodoxy by saying that God *must* be just. The orthodox insisted that God has the *right* and the power to do as he pleased with men. They held that God made man for himself, to enjoy immortal blessedness, and that God, therefore, must make salvation possible. They accepted Muhammad the Prophet as God's apostle to mankind. They held that God at all times serves the highest ends of men, and they insisted that men accept the world for what it is and take events as best for them (this was Greek, even Stoic).

5. They assumed that man is possessed of freedom of will and action, that he has power, or *qadr*. Since he can discriminate between evil and good, he must accept responsibility for wrongdoing. They refused to lodge in God's will the distinction between good and evil. They combated the doctrine of predestination as an obstacle to progress, proclaiming that such a doctrine would be proof of God's injustice.

Perhaps they pressed their rationalism to extremes. Or possibly, reactionary persecution (under the Caliph Muta-

wakkil) sealed their doom. Someone said, "They went with their heads up till such a time as God produced Ashari." But even before he joined them they had lost prestige. Smarting under popular disfavor, they took more earnestly to speculation and in Ashari's time they were discussing such abstractions as "thing," "existence," and "qualities." He found this idle exercise and revolted from it. In contrast he grew practical and became the champion of a reasonable orthodoxy, which, after him, withstood the attacks of pure speculators. He represented Arab stock against both Greek and Persian. He is the final architect of Arabic Islam, composing over fifty volumes on behalf of it.

SCHOLASTICISM. Ashari's separation from his master, al-Jubbai and the Mutazilites took place publicly in the Friday mosque of Basrah. A stock question had arisen: Can a believer (Muslim) commit a "great sin" and continue a "believer"? The case in point was that of three persons who had died, a believer who had sinned, a sinner who had not repented, and a little child. Whither had they gone, etc.? Al-Jubbai contended (the reports are somewhat garbled; at least, there are two versions of the episode): (1) that a Muslim may become, by reason of a "great sin," unworthy of honor and of heaven, although if he had previously given the "witness" (of allegiance to Islam), he is no unbeliever, and he will not be fully punished as a *great* sin deserves, if he repents; (2) that an unrepented sinner goes, undoubtedly, to hell, being worthy of hell fire for his failure to repent; and (3) that a little child, neither sinning nor sinless, goes neither to heaven nor to hell but to a mid-region, where there is neither reward nor punishment. God may take a young child, if he knows that the child by growing up would become an unrepentant sinner; God thereby enables some to escape punishment for sin. The group around the master in the mosque was thrown during this argument into some confusion by an inevitable question by Ashari: Why had not God taken the sinner young before he had had opportunity to commit the sin by which he lost the reward of heaven? Ashari contended that God would be really

unjust to deny anyone the reward which he might have merited, that it would be unjust for God to send to some intermediate condition (cf. purgatory in the Roman Catholic doctrine) a child who might have grown up to be a believer. Ashari parted from his companions on the ground of "Allah's justice."

His full position, developed in succeeding years, which stands as scholastic orthodoxy, may be summarized as follows:

1. God is one and all. He is the one fact, the one reality. There is no nature as such belonging to men and things; all nature in them is God's. The life, the knowledge, the power, the will, the hearing, the seeing, the speech in man are the divine qualities of God. God must be assumed, not questioned. Muhammad had said, "Think of God's gifts, not of his qualities." "He is the self-subsisting," and "He is not subject to question regarding what he does." That God is "not subject to question" (cf. *la yusalu*, 21:23) becomes a major plank of orthodoxy. Ashari phrased it, *bila kayf*, "without how."

2. Being is one and all. There is a universal entity, a *primum mobile*, and certain qualities manifested in existence. A thing is both substance and quality, and existence is the very essence of it. The Mutazilites held, on the contrary, that a thing does not become a thing *for us* until God has bestowed upon it the quality of existence. Ashari admitted the reality of the two categories of substance and quality and considered all other attributes of being, or existence, subjective aspects within the knower's mind. This was Ashari's method of establishing the relation between the knower and the thing-to-be-known, between knowledge and the thing-in-itself. He thus offered an answer to the question, How can, or does, man know God? Man does *not* acquire knowledge of God through *aql*, or "reason," but by the recognition of God who is already in existence, even in man's mind itself. Man, therefore, knows God directly, and not through the processes of reason.

3. The anthropomorphisms, or "man-likenesses," in the Qur'anic accounts of God must be accepted but taken *bila kayf*, "without question," and without the thought that these qualities or attributes of God, such as hands, feet, etc., may be compared with the actual hands, feet, etc., of men. They are essential qualities which are a part of God's very being, not agencies upon which he depends for his existence or for his operation of the universe. Ashari takes the *thoughtful* view of God as personality, having life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, seeing, and speech.

4. The Qur'ân is the Word of Allah (*kalam Allahi*), existing from the beginning. In the beginning was the Qur'ân and the Qur'ân was with Allah, and the Qur'ân was Allah, etc. Man had no part in its creation; in fact, it was *not created*; it is eternal. Muhammad was the medium through whom the divine spokesman Gabriel reported to mankind what was inscribed on the "heavenly plates."

5. Man himself can produce no action; God alone can produce an act. What power man has (and he is allowed some power of his own) does not and cannot affect his acts, for God creates within man both power *and* the act. Man has some freedom and, therefore, some responsibility, but *man cannot create* anything. He is endowed with the power of choice between acts, between good and evil, but God himself creates the act, or the result to correspond with man's selection!

Such is Ashari's *Kalam*, his reconstruction in theology, a revised connection between reason and religion. He banned philosophy as such, to turn men's minds to God directly. He did no violence to the orthodoxy of even the illiterate conservative; but he gave the *thoughtful* conservative a defensible system of theology. Coming out of the camp of the radicals, he turned against them the edge of their dialectic. Well he knew the uses of their weapons; with them he refashioned and revived original Islam. While his monumental *Book of Explanation and Exposition* itself stands in need of some reduction to consistency, it met to

the satisfaction of orthodoxy every challenge from the liberals of the time. Unfortunately, the note of bitterness appears occasionally in it. Although the author, by natural disposition, was "strongly inclined to gaiety and humor," his kindliness was eaten up by dogmatism; he died with a curse upon his lips for the advocates of rationalism. It remained for the third great strain of thought to emphasize the gentler side of faith and to generate a kindlier scholasticism. Mysticism (*kashf*) found its great exponent a century or so later.

MYSTICISM. In the year A.D. 1000 the Muslim empire had lost cohesion. A dozen dynasties rivaled the Abbasid, including the Zayrid in Tunis and Granada; the Fatimid in Syria and Egypt; the Ghaznawid in Bactria, Afghanistan, and upper India; and the Buwayhid all around Baghdad, with the Saljuqs near at hand, and ready later to attempt a new consolidation. But culture often disregards imperial foundations; this was a golden age of culture; life and thought were ripening in freedom from entanglements of state. Muslim thinkers levied toll on wider territories and spoke to remote distances. As Goethe spoke from Weimar to the world, so Rumi, from Tabriz and Koniya, has touched the hearts of mankind everywhere. In the eleventh century, this sort of universalism was in evidence. Many Muslims looked to Islam to become the common faith of men. Ghazali was their spokesman.

GHAZALI AND SUFISM. Al-Ghazali (A.D. 1058-1111) was a Persian, born in the village of Tus. He became "the most original thinker that Islam has produced and its greatest theologian." He is called the "example of Islam" and the "ornament of religion." He was a Shafiite in Law, a "liberal traditionalist." He studied many years in Naisabur, in Khorasan, under the imam al-Haramain. Before he was thirty he went to Baghdad, welcomed there by the Nizam al-Mulk (Secretary of State), famous patron of culture in the Nizam's *madrasah*, but his professorship was interrupted by political disturbances. He withdrew to Syria, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, wrote a number of books,

and wandered widely. He taught a while in the *madrasah* at Naisabur and finally retired to his native village, Tus, in charge of a Sufi monastery. He died at fifty-three.

Ghazali completed what Ashari had begun. He took Islamic dogmatism, legal, logical, and philosophical, mixed with it mysticism, intuitional, and transcendental, and renewed the life of Islam with a new theology. It was not pure theory with him; what he accomplished came out of the anguish of his own soul, in strenuous adjustment to reality. His theology sprang peculiarly from his own personal, spiritual experience. In early youth he disengaged himself from dogma based upon external authority; he could not agree with the scholastics nor approve of those who insisted that religious truth might be known only through some infallible guide and teacher. The immediate alternative was Sufism; but he could not accept it at the time. He became a Sufi outwardly, perhaps; he was at heart a sceptic. His scepticism deepened, aggravated by a nervous temperament, as he continued his studies and took to teaching. He came to think that certainty of knowledge was utterly impossible of attainment. He tried philosophy, the way of logic and of reason; he entered into heated controversies with members of the sects, especially Shiis. But philosophy, intellectualism, failed him. He was in despair, when upheavals in the state brought on a crisis. Then he turned to Sufism with devotion, the way of the ascetic and of religion as experience.

Sufism is not extraneous to Islam. Ascetic elements have inhered since the beginning of the faith. Sufism capitalized them. Muhammad was at times ascetic. The fast is an ascetic symbol. Muhammad also was a mystic, as suggested in the Qur'ân, sura 94. The Sufis utilized Muhammad's mysticism. Sufism began about A.D. 750 in Syria and spread widely, finding congenial soil throughout the empire. On Greek and Persian soil, especially, many Muslims turned away from luxury and the world, imitating Christian and Manichæan monks and anchorites. Like the *hanifs* of the Prophet's day, these *faqirs*, "poor men," and *darwishes*,

"mendicants," were unrelated individuals on a common quest. Ultimately a Sufi theology developed, culling ideas everywhere from Greece to India. Seeming too individualistic, the Sufis were considered first as heretics. Their asceticism and their mysticism seemed at variance with orthodoxy for about two centuries. The Sufi poet, al-Hallaj, was put to death as a heretic for saying "*ana l-haqq*," "I am truth," although he had said, also, that the "true lover of God" was one who "bestows on none other a thought, from the moment when he sets forth to seek until he hath found what he sought." It happens that al-Haqq, "the True," is a Qur'anic name for God. Al-Hallaj, however, was merely expressing his opinion that man, made in God's image, is essentially divine. But he was put to death as a heretic and a blasphemer.

Sufism has never been a sect; it is, rather, a suffusion and an eclecticism. In general the Sufi fundamentals are as follows:

1. God alone exists; all else is illusion. God is mysterious knowledge, or reason (*aql*); but he is unknowable-in-himself. *Aql* is not the means of knowing the rationally unknowable God.
2. God can be known only through intuition and ecstasy. These agencies operate mainly through the exercise of "remembrance" (*dhikr*), whether of the quiet, meditative type, or through action, such as the whirling of certain darwish orders.
3. God is goodness. Evil has no reality of its own; it is the negation of good.
4. The goal of man is union with God. Man seeks the shrine where he is one with deity, as al-Hallaj has said. Man's soul seeks loss of identity in the consciousness of unity with God as reason, goodness, and reality.

Sufism is spiritual, not formal. It disregarded the ordained prayers, which gave semblance to the charge of heresy; its *dhikrs* took their place. Extreme Sufis have over-emphasized reliance upon God; they have disdained property and work of any sort.

GHAZALI MAKES SUFISM ORTHODOX. To return now to al-Ghazali. He became a Sufi in principle. As a wandering ascetic, in flight from Baghdad, he sought peace for his soul within his own mind. He found both peace of mind and certainty of knowledge through a remarkable conversion. His theology is this conversion, with the insight it afforded into mysteries which had baffled him and doubts that had assailed him. By formulating his experience he revived Islam.

He altered Sufi theories and practices; divorced them from their heretical associations, especially with Shiites; and gave them, revised and perfected, a place in orthodox Islam. As Ashari had established a metaphysics for tradition (*naql*), so Ghazali propounded a philosophy of mysticism (*kashf*). He found himself at variance with canon lawyers and speculative theologians. He despised the casuistry of canon law and went far toward relegating it and legal casuistry from religion altogether. He opposed the rationalists for their atheism, their intellectual intolerance, or their lack of an ultimate ground for their philosophy. He criticized the orthodox *kalam* (i.e., the scholasticism of Ashari) for its intellectual subtleties among the learned and its tendency to make religion for the masses a scheme of logically articulated articles of faith. He demonstrated the main, broad principles of Islam upon which all could take their stand as true believers; by consensus of opinion (i.e., *ijma*, or "agreement") his program was adopted by the great majority. While he found certainty in experience and ecstasy, he pointed the faithful back to their early sources in the Word of Allah and the Sayings of Muhammad. He reintroduced the element of fear in faith, even as Muhammad had counseled men to fear God and remember the last day, for fear had been a factor in Ghazali's own conversion. But he put a wholesome emphasis on love, the love of God and man, whereas Sufism had often made that love unearthly and fantastic. All these things he not only preached with eloquence but wrote with scholarly acumen. Not his least interesting teaching is that all men may become believers, not

all by the same process but each in his own way: the thoughtful, through reflection, discussion, and interpretation, and the masses, through obedience to literal demonstration.

MORE INTELLECTUALS. The list of thinkers, theologians, writers, poets, and religionists of the Golden Age would certainly include the Arabian al-Kindi (d. A.D. 873), the Arab Ashari, the Turk Farabi (d. 950), the Persian ibn-Sina, or "Avicenna" (d. 1037), the Persian al-Ghazali, the Spanish Arab ibn-Rushd, or "Averroes" (d. 1138), the Egyptian Arab ibn-al-Farid (d. 1235), the Persian Rumi (Jalal al-Din of Rum, or Iconium, d. 1273), the North African Arab ibn-Khaldun (d. 1406), and the Persian Jami (d. 1492). Al-Kindi was a rationalist who, having studied Greek, introduced the thought of Aristotle and Plotinus. The Turk Farabi studied Arabic in Baghdad and took up the exposition of Plotinus, in the name of Aristotle, as if his man of "reason" (*aql*) were a Qur'anic character. Ibn-Sina, also, was an Aristotelian, who realized at last that Greek thought and Islamic could *not* be reconciled, and unwittingly(?) became a heretic through his devotion to philosophy. Ibn-al-Farid, Jalal al-din, and Jami were great poets and great mystics, who through no want of true devotion included in their verse ideas much at variance with traditional Islam. Ibn-Khaldun saw Islam as history. His interest was the civilization of the world. He is one of the great philosophical historians of all time. But we turn to Ibn Rushd in more detail, because he may be taken as the representative of Islamic philosophy as such and as the typical medium through which the Islamic version of Greek thought was introduced to Europe.

IBN-RUSHD. Ibn-Rushd, "Averroes" (1126-1198). was born in Spanish Cordova, where his grandfather and his father had been *qadi*. He studied law and medicine. At forty-three he became the *qadi* of Seville, and two years later, *qadi* of Cordova. At fifty-six he was appointed chief *qadi* of Andalusia, the Spanish dominion of the Al-Muwahhidun, "Almohades" or "Unitarians," whose *mahdi* had gained control of Morocco and parts of Spain, in 1130. The

Almohad chieftains, Yusuf, and his son and successor, Yaqub, extended him their generous patronage.

Ibn-Rushd turned his attention—mainly through Arabic translations, for he did not read Greek—to the Greek philosophers, especially to Aristotle. He aimed to clarify and expound them. He wrote important philosophical treatises of his own, after Greek patterns. He commented upon Ashari and Ghazali, adversely on the latter, calling him “that renegade.” Spanish Islam, however, was no proper soil for free discussion. He aroused the opposition of the theologians (the *faqih*s, or canon “lawyers”). He fell into disfavor at the court. He was branded “heretic.” His “heresies” were based upon: (1) the question of the eternity of the world. He had been asked (by Yusuf) whether the world (the universe) was an eternal substance or had had a beginning in time; (2) the question of the nature of God’s understanding; (3) the problem of the universality of the soul; and (4) the nature of the resurrection. These were “live” issues at the time, not only in Islam, but in Christendom.

Ibn-Rushd’s solutions may be deduced from the following outline of his theology:

1. There is one God; he knows all things, past, present, and to come. He is creator; his knowledge was the agent of creation. His knowledge is not universal, nor particular, as man’s knowledge is. Man’s knowledge is derived and speculative; God’s is absolute. Man is a knower, but not on a plane with God.

2. Man is part of God’s material creation, endowed with a soul and intellect. The soul is something subtle: in the form of the body, independent of the body, eternal in its individuality.¹⁴ It is the energy, the driving force, of man. It is the *life* of man, which energizes his material body in *association* with it. The intellect of man is immaterial and abstract; its existence in reality is dependent on association with the universal Active Intellect of God.¹⁵ It is man’s (passive?) means of grasping the ideas derived from God. When man’s intellect is merged into the active intellect of

God, it becomes eternal. As for man's body, it obviously decays, but is reborn in a higher, heavenly form.

3. Philosophy does not contradict religion; it approves. God meant man to be a *thoughtful* creature, a philosopher. Philosophy, knowledge, intelligence—these are the means to life and immortality. Ibn-Rushd looked to a future life, incomparably superior to this but not to be comprehended now by any anthropomorphisms. He opposed Ashari in this regard, and in others, also.

4. Religion is valid *if* in agreement with philosophy. Both are avenues to truth if both agree. The true prophet with revelation and the true philosopher with knowledge cannot disagree. There is place in religion for the true scholar, with the truths of his research. If a passage of the Qur'ân seems to contradict philosophy, there must be some "higher" meaning in the passage. Seek it. Truth reveals itself in many forms, according to the recipient. Religion has two aspects: an outer and an inner. The common man must take the Qur'ân in its literal sense, such as he can grasp by observation (*zahir*); the learned man must use interpretation, and seek the inner essence (*batin*). Let religious truth be taught according to the capacity of the learner. Let the masses believe upon authority. The learned are not obligated to communicate to them the fruits of research.

Thus speaks the *qadi*-philosopher. His *Commentaries* aroused great admiration, especially in Christendom; but he did not reconcile effectually the Law and Reason. He was not original; he was a Spanish Arab Hellenist, much in debt to Aristotle. As al-Kindi, al-Farabi, and ibn-Sina (Avicenna) had done in the East, ibn-Rushd hellenized Islamic thought in Spain and Africa. He was in debt to his Spanish predecessor, ibn-Bajjah (Avenpace), who, in the Greek tradition, had thought of God as Active Intellect, of reason as man's guide in all affairs, of truth as something to be found by abstract thinking, and of immortality as the union of man's intellect with God's. Ibn-Rushd, however,

was the thinker-in-public-life, seeking to reconcile practical Islam and abstract thought. He opposed Ashari's *Explanation*. He opposed Ghazali's way of ecstasy and contemplation. His views did not prevail; they are still heretical. His honor rests in Europe, not in the Muslim world. Already, in his century, Islamic power in the West was in decay (it lost its hold in Spain in 1498); but the gift of culture was permanent; and none did more than ibn-Rushd to this end.

ISLAM IN MODERN TIMES. The entire Islamic world is in process of change—economic, social, religious, and political. Furthermore, the tempo of change within Islamic society has steadily increased for more than a century and a half. One may take as a starting point the fanatical Wahhabi movement dating from the mid-eighteenth century but reappearing in a twentieth-century revival in the modern state of Saudi Arabia under the rule of King Abd al-Aziz ibn-Saud, who was succeeded upon his death in 1953 by his eldest son, Saud ibn-Abd al-Aziz al-Saud. Just before the turn of the twentieth century revolutionary leadership was provided by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (d. 1897) and the Pan-Islamic movement he preached. In Egypt the leadership of Jamal-al-Din passed to his favorite disciple, Muhammad Abduh (1849?–1905), who confined himself to religious reform rather than political revolution. In Turkey revolutionary change resulted in the creation of a secular state, setting aside the Shari'a law, closing religious houses, abolishing religious orders, requiring all public servants to wear western clothing, and even going so far as to require by law that not only officials and legislators but all male citizens should wear western headgear, a drastic regulation, since Islamic ritual requires that the worshiper both keep his head covered and touch his forehead to the ground in his worship. Turkey remains a secular state, although in recent years it has become clear that Islam is still a strong influence upon the population.

THE WAHHABI MOVEMENT. The Wahhabi movement is an example of "challenge from within." The name Wahhabi was given the group by its opponents during the lifetime of

the founder, Muhammad ibn-Abd-al-Wahhab. Followers still call themselves Muwahhiddun (Unitarians) and consider themselves Sunnis of the (puritanical) school of ibn-Hanbal as that was interpreted by the (fundamentalist) theologian, ibn Taimiyya, a fourteenth-century anti-Sufi leader. As already implied, the Wahhabi reform was conservative, even reactionary in character. The slogan of the founder was "Back to the Qur'ân and the primitive Sunnah."

The spirit of the movement is best illustrated from the life of the founder. Muhammad ibn-Abd-al-Wahhab (1703–1791) was the son of a village sheikh in central Arabia. He studied Islamic theology both at Medina and Basrah, and it may have been at Medina that he became acquainted with the views of ibn-Taimiyya. His teachers at Medina suspected him of heresy, and when later he went to Basrah he was expelled because of his independent views. He lived five years in Baghdad and while there married a well-to-do woman who left him 2,000 dinars upon her death. After four years of study in Isfahan, Persia, ibn-Abd-al-Wahhab taught Sufism for a year and then turned to the teachings of ibn-Hanbal (d. A.D. 855), as interpreted by ibn Taimiyya. Ibn-Wahhab now preached a return to the Golden Age of Muhammad and his companions. He insisted upon a literal interpretation of the Qur'ân and opposed all innovations which had crept into Islam, such as the cult of the saints and the veneration of Muhammad. He even prohibited the celebration of the Prophet's birthday. He went even further than ibn-Hanbal by insisting that attendance at public worship be made compulsory, smoking of tobacco be prohibited and made punishable by not more than forty stripes, that shaving of the beard be prohibited, and the *zakat*, or property and income tax, be levied upon secret profits as well as those publicly declared. He condemned luxury and self-indulgence in personal habits and dress.

After initial failures to find support, ibn-Abd-al-Wahhab found a patron in ibn-Saud, a petty ruler of Central Arabia. Tradition has it that ibn-Abd-al-Wahhab made an agreement with Muhammad ibn-Saud that if they succeeded in

forcing their system on their neighbors, rule should rest with ibn-Saud and religious leadership with ibn-Wahhab. The history of the movement from that time on has been associated with the House of Saud. Saud married his prophet's daughter, organized a new *jihad*, and founded a victorious dynasty. He and his successors first conquered the neighboring tribes, then conquered and sacked the holy cities of the Shiahs, Najf and Karbala. Mecca and Medina were captured and reformed in 1803-1804. The treasures at the tomb of Muhammad in Medina were plundered and the dome over the tomb destroyed. The silk coverings of the Ka'bah shrine in Mecca were ripped off and plain cloth coverings substituted. The violence of the Wahhabis finally aroused the wrath of the Sunnis to the point where Muhammad Ali and Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, with the encouragement of the Caliph in Constantinople, crushed the movement, after a campaign lasting several years, and the Saudi ruler was executed in Constantinople.

Nothing more was heard of the Wahhabis for a time, although two small Wahhabi states survived in the Nejd with capitals at Riyadh and Ha'il under the rival families of ibn-Saud and ibn-Rashid. The ideas of the movement spread far beyond the borders of Arabia, however, indeed, as far as India, Sumatra, and Africa.

In the twentieth century a revival has taken place under the leadership of modern rulers of the house of Saud. Abd al-Aziz became the founder of the modern state of Saudi Arabia. Toward the end of the year 1921 this particular ibn-Saud was able to destroy the power of the house of Rashid and to become sole ruler of the Nejd. In 1930 he succeeded in having himself crowned in Mecca as king of the Nejd and the Hejaz. Saudi Arabia and the Wahhabi teachings it supports exercise today a profound religious influence upon the entire Muslim world. The over-all significance of the Wahhabi movement in its total perspective has been evaluated in the following manner:

Overlooking its brutal excesses, its principles reinforced the movement for the return to the pure monotheism of the early Muslim

church. This movement, combined with a reaction against Sufi infiltration, grew steadily throughout the nineteenth century and has come to constitute, now in one form, now in another, one of the outstanding features of Modern Islam.¹⁶

MODERNISM IN ISLAM. The Wahhabi movement is an example of change arising primarily from pressures within Islam itself, but Modernism was and is essentially a response to the impact of western civilization upon Islamic life. This response has expressed itself in two ways, first, in resistance, chiefly political, to western infiltration and exploitation, and second, a challenge to Islam to revitalize herself, a call to inner reform. Although these reactions cannot be sharply isolated from each other, yet the first emphasis was essentially that of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (d. 1897) and his Pan-Islamic movement, while his disciple, Muhammad Abduh, the father of Egyptian Modernism, adopted the second line of approach.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani was an extraordinary person.¹⁷ He was a man

. . . of enormous force of character, prodigious learning, untiring activity, dauntless courage, extraordinary eloquence both in speech and writing, and an appearance equally striking and majestic. He was at once philosopher, writer, orator, and journalist, but above all, politician, and was regarded by his admirers as a great patriot and by his antagonists as a dangerous agitator.¹⁸

The chief aim of Jamal al-Din was the unification of all Muslim peoples under one Islamic government. He believed that if these countries could be freed of foreign domination and could adjust themselves to conditions of modern life, the Muslims could work out a new and better way of life for themselves. His methods were those of political revolution, and he did not hesitate to urge the overthrow, even the assassination, of Muslim rulers who stood in the way of Pan-Islamism. Yet he did have positive goals. He gave himself wholeheartedly to the unification of Islam. To his disciples he imparted his conviction of the necessity of bringing Islamic theology and philosophy to terms with modern scientific thought. More of an activist than a

scholar, al-Afghani did write one book, with the title *Refutation of the Materialists*, one of the concluding chapters of which bears the significant heading, "The Means by Which the Happiness of Nations May Be Attained." Hitti makes the following comparison and pays a tribute to Jamal and his disciple, Muhammad Abduh:

While Jamal al-Din advocated political revolution, Muhammad 'Abduh advocated religious awakening to bring about reform. More than any other modern writers, these two contributed to the breaking of the scholastic shell which had encased Islam since medieval times.¹⁹

MUHAMMAD ABDUH, FATHER OF EGYPTIAN MODERNISM. As Jamal al-Din was leaving Egypt for the last time, he said to friends and followers: "I leave you Sheikh Muhammad Abduh, and he is sufficient for Egypt as a scholar."²⁰ At that time Muhammad Abduh was about thirty and had been under the influence of Jamal al-Din eight years. He had already begun his work of teaching and had shown an interest in and an ability for public reform.

Muhammad Abduh was born in 1849 of a peasant family in the Egyptian delta. His lifelong concern with educational reform grew out of his own unfortunate educational experiences. At the age of ten he was sent to the home of a professional reciter of the Qur'ân, under whom he memorized the entire Qur'ân within two years. At thirteen he was sent to the Ahmadi mosque-school in Tanta, where he was given further training in the Qur'ân and then introduced to Arabic grammar by being compelled to memorize an entire textbook. "I spent a year and a half without understanding a thing," he says in his autobiography. Finally, in desperation he ran away, determined to give up further schooling. He decided to become a farmer and married at the age of sixteen. However, an uncle who was a Sheikh and a Sufi mystic persuaded him to continue his studies and interested him in mysticism. In 1866 he went to Cairo to attend the al-Azhar mosque-university and proceeded to immerse himself in mysticism and ascetic practices, as a result of which his uncle again intervened and exercised a restraining hand.

It was in 1872 that he came into contact with Jamal al-Din, who shared his interest in mysticism but who gave him a new way of approaching traditional learning, introduced him to European works in translation, and aroused his interest in contemporary problems. In 1876, as a result of Jamal al-Din's encouragement, Muhammad Abduh first ventured into journalism, something which developed into a lifelong interest. After receiving his license to teach from al-Azhar, Muhammad Abduh for a few months engaged in private instruction and then returned to al-Azhar as a teacher of theological subjects, applying to them the methods he had learned from Jamal al-Din. He was also appointed teacher of history at Dar al-Ulum, a training college connected with al-Azhar University, and later was invited to teach Arabic language and literature in the Khedivial School of Languages, continuing to hold these three positions at the same time. For eighteen months he was chief of the Department of Publications and Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal Officiel* with the right of censorship of all newspapers in the country. From the beginning he directed attention to the study of education in Egypt. He also created a literary department in the Journal for the expression of opinions on public affairs.

In 1882 Muhammad Abduh was banished from Egypt because of his connection with the Arabi nationalist movement. The exact nature of his involvement has never been made clear, but it was probably on the intellectual side rather than on an active revolutionary level. He was finally permitted to return to Egypt in 1889 but was not permitted to resume teaching in al-Azhar. He did, however, become the leading spirit of an administrative committee for the al-Azhar, for the creation of which he was responsible in 1894, and in which he took the leadership in educational reforms.

Shortly after his return, Muhammad Abduh had been appointed a judge (*qadi*) and in 1890 was made a member of the Court of Appeals in Cairo. In 1899 he became Chief Mufti of Egypt, the highest official interpreter of the canon law of Islam. He rendered a number of important legal

opinions or *fatwas*, liberal in character and intended to adapt Islam to the needs of modern civilization. One declared it lawful for Muslims to eat the flesh of animals slain by Jews and Christians. Another declared it lawful for Muslims to deposit their money in the postal savings banks, where it would draw interest. In addition to his official employment and his many other interests, Muhammad Abduh actively encouraged a literary revival and was himself president of the Society for the Revival of Arabic Sciences. He continued his interest in journalism by writing many articles in defense of Islam.

Muhammad Abduh's program as he himself stated it was threefold: (1) reform of the Muslim religion by restoring it to its original condition; (2) renovation of the Arabic language; and (3) recognition of the rights of the people.²¹ He had considerable acquaintance with the works of European scholars and tried to restate the theology of Islam in terms more harmonious with modern thought.

Muhammad Abduh's influence has been felt in different directions. His opposition to the uncritical acceptance of authority gave impetus to the lay modernist movement. His religious followers were led by his Syrian disciple, Rashid Rida, but moved away from Muhammad Abduh's broad and mediating position in the direction of a more rigid Hanbalite viewpoint. Another disciple of Muhammad Abduh was the liberal-minded Qasim Amin, who organized the first movement to raise the status of women. A recent book by a Western-educated Egyptian describes and evaluates the achievement of Muhammad Abduh in the following language:

The impact of European culture was producing its results. The leading Moslem reformer of modern times, Sheikh Mohammed Abdu, was preaching a return to the primitive purity of Islam, advocating educational reforms and the removal of superstitious accretions, and maintaining that Islam was an essentially rational religion capable of meeting modern requirements.²²

MODERNISM IN INDIA (AND PAKISTAN). Indian Islam has had its own "challenge and response" sparked by Western,

in this case largely British, influence. In the early nineteenth century there was a reactionary movement, often called "Wahhabi," which was indeed similar in spirit to the Arabian movement of the same name but independent in origin. It was a protest against the religious corruption that accompanied the low state of Indian culture that followed the period of exploitation inaugurated by the East India Company and which lasted into the early nineteenth century. This Indian Wahhabi movement called for a return to the simple religious and social standards of the time of the Prophet and his Companions. It came to have social and political overtones, resulting in peasant and worker uprisings, and was used by the conservative Muslim classes in their last desperate attempt to retain their status in the 1857 Mutiny.

More characteristic of the Indian response has been the attitude of acceptance of Western culture by the educated middle classes, although the manner of acceptance has varied. In a sociological study of Islam in India,²³ four successive attitudes toward Western culture appear: (1) the movement in favor of contemporary British culture; (2) the movement in favor of Islamic culture of the past; (3) the movement in favor of a new culture of the future: progressive; and (4) the movement in favor of a new culture of the future: reactionary.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898) was the leader of the first Indian modernist movement. He was chiefly responsible for the founding of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh which opened in 1875 and was later renamed the Muslim University. The object of the university was to combine Islamic education with scientific studies. Not only did Sayyid Ahmad Khan believe Islam compatible with Western culture, but he preached conciliation between Islam and Christianity. He risked the criticism of orthodox Hindus by declaring that the Bible was reliable, in opposition to the Islamic doctrine of the corruption of the text. He published a study of the Bible and began a sympathetic commentary upon it. A year after the opening of the col-

lege at Aligarh, he began the writing of an Urdu commentary on the Qur'ân, in which he interpreted Islam from the point of view of nineteenth-century rationalism. His social viewpoint was equally liberal, combatting the view that Islam could not release women from seclusion, that Islam approved aggressive warfare in its doctrine of *jihad*, and that Islam sanctioned slavery.

Amir Ali represents a later phase of Islamic modernism in India. This phase of the development of the middle class in the Indian Muslim community reflected a spirit of growing independence from the British and a need to feel itself socially and religiously equal to the liberal and humanitarian West.

Now there was elaborated an Islam not only compatible with but considered to be the very source of Western liberalism, and Christianity was painted as definitely a rival and an inferior religion. This was accompanied by a burst of enthusiasm for the glory of Islamic culture in the past, and particularly by the brilliant 'Abbasi age—the flowering of Arab culture at Baghdad. From this culture, modern science and civilization were now said to be derived. There is no one outstanding writer representing this attitude; the best known in the West is Amir 'Ali, for its early stages; the point of view has been developed much further since by a host of less prominent men.²⁴

The third and fourth phases are labeled by W. C. Smith the "recent progressive" and the still more "recent reactionary," of both of which Sir Muhammad Iqbal may serve as symbol.

The recent progressive phase of Islamic modernism (as also its supersessor, the recent reactionary phase), has appealed to those who look to the future rather than to either the present or the past. It has reflected the growing frustration of even the Indian bourgeoisie, and has belonged to that class of young men for whom capitalism, not expanding fast enough, has no room, to whom it offers no opportunity. They have been looking therefore to abolishing the present society and building a new one nearer their desires. This movement has repudiated not only the West, as did the preceding one, but also Westernism itself; instead of claiming liberalism as its own, as Islamic, it supersedes liberalism with a new and creative vision. Its pride is no longer in the 'Abbasi culture of the Muslims, for that was too "im-

perialistic." Rather it has stressed the very early period of Islam (Khilafat al Rashidah), the last ten years of the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime and the first thirty years after his death; it dubs all subsequent Islamic history as aberration.

This progressive phase has been neither widespread nor lasting. It soon began to peter out, to give way to the more recent phase of religious modernism, energetic reaction. . . .²⁵

THE RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM. The spirit of nationalism developed rapidly among the Arabs during the nineteenth century. Missionary education played an important role in the development of a middle class in Syria and Lebanon, within which nationalism first arose. Americans arrived in Beirut in 1820 and introduced a printing press, established schools, including the American Protestant College in 1860, which later became the American University of Beirut. French Jesuits also started many schools, including the University of St. Joseph in Beirut, founded in 1875.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of secret societies among the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire and later the development of political parties. World War I gave a great impetus to nationalism in the Near East, when Arabs gave their support to the allies by revolting against the Ottoman Empire. "It is important to note in this regard that the Arabs, in the pursuit of their national aims in this revolt, rose against their fellow-Muslims, the Turks, and challenged the authority of the spiritual head of Islam while allying themselves with British and other Christian nations."²⁶ Nationalism, which had until this time been confined largely to the middle classes, now spread to all sections of the Arab nations.

The peace settlement at the end of World War I was a great disappointment to Arab leaders. The Hejaz alone gained independence. Other provinces of the Ottoman Empire were placed under mandate to Britain and France, which practically meant annexation. A limited independence was given to some territories like Transjordan, and after 1920, to Lebanon and Iraq. The peace settlement had

the effect of causing the Arab nations to determine to throw off European domination, an aim that has continued to the present day.

The nationalist movement in Egypt developed along parallel lines. Although Egyptian nationalists received no recognition at the peace conference after World War I, Egypt was given a limited independence by Britain in 1922. In Iraq, national ambition continued to struggle with British control. Since World War II France has given up her mandate, and Syria and Lebanon have become sovereign nations. In Palestine, Britain withdrew from the mandated territory in May, 1948; this was the signal for the outbreak of war between Israelis and the Arabs. This was the most important event for Arab nationalism since the Arab revolt of 1916. The Palestine question still looms as the largest problem in the thinking of the Arab nations and clouds their relationship to the Western nations.

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NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Primarily *The World Almanac* for 1957.
2. *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 129.
3. Augustine adopted the idea derived from *religare*, which dominated the theology of the Middle Ages.
4. A. G. Keller, *Science of Society*, p. 1430.
5. The writer of the New Testament Letter to the Hebrews, 11:1.
6. Letter of James, 1:27.
7. *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, p. 21.
8. Micah 6:8.
9. Jeremiah 31:33.
10. James 1:27-27.
11. The word *priest* comes down to us from the Greek *presbyteros*, an "elder."

CHAPTER 2

1. Geoffrey Parsons, *The Stream of History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 104-5. Quoted by permission of Carle T. Parsons.
2. Bronislaw Malinowski, in *Science, Religion, and Reality*, ed. Joseph Needham, p. 21.
3. George G. Hackman, Charles W. Kegley, and Viljo K. Nidander, *Religion in Modern Life*, p. 3.
4. A. Macbeath, *Experiments in Living*, p. 254.
5. Quoted by Malinowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
7. Quoted in D. Miall Edwards, *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1924), p. 45.
8. See R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti*, 1923. Captain Rattray witnessed this ceremony at Tekiman, Northern Ashanti, in 1922.
9. Known generally as *mana*.
10. W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu*, p. 9; E. W. Smith, *Ila-speaking Peoples*, pp. ii and 100 ff.
11. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 61.
12. P. Radin, *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, pp. 234 ff.
13. For a detailed comparison of magic, science, and religion, see Malinowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 ff.
14. G. H. Turnbull, *Tongues of Fire*, pp. 100-101.
15. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
17. Since worship of the common Father is often the bond which binds the

- clan in one, ancestor-worship is found in patriarchal rather than in matriarchal societies.
18. See C. Clemen, *Religions of the World*, pp. 27 and 28, showing ancestral figures from the Philippines and from Easter Island.
 19. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-202, Bantu family worship, and pp. 202-65, the tribal cult of ancestors.
 20. Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934).
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

CHAPTER 3

1. Including Nationalist Formosa, 601,912,371, according to a census taken by the People's Republic of China in June, 1953. The 1948 Nationalist census gave a figure of 463,493,418. Cf. 1957 *World Almanac and Book of Facts*.
2. Wing-tsit Chan, *Religious Trends in Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 136, 140, 141, 142.
3. An eclipse of the sun occurred in 775 B.C.
4. Cf. *S.B.E.*, III, pp. 303 ff.
5. Chan, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
6. In the 1957 *World Almanac*.
7. These estimates seem excessive. According to another source, Roman Catholic Christianity numbered 2,700,000 just before World War II, Protestant Christians 500,000 (although this would be 1,000,000 if Protestants included all members of a family as the Roman Church does). According to some non-Muslims, fifteen to twenty million would be a more accurate estimate of the Muslim population of China.
8. K. L. Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, p. 311.
9. Chan, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

CHAPTER 4

1. Dr. Wing-tsit Chan, Professor of Chinese Culture and Philosophy in Dartmouth College.
2. Wing-tsit Chan, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
3. Quoted by Richard L. Walker in *China Under Communism, The First Five Years* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 40.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
5. According to a special dispatch from Hong Kong published in the *New York Times*, Wednesday, February 27, 1957. The report stated in part that "in a plea based on allegiance to the Communist party, Red leaders told the younger generation through an article in Chung Kuo Ching Nien (China Youth) that they must not hesitate to inform security police of suspicious actions of their own parents. Sons and daughters of upper-class families and former landlords were cautioned against breaking all ties with relatives prematurely when a chance remained to win anti-Communists over to the party line. But while urging youths to carry on missionary work for the Communist party in their own families, Peiping also warned them against absorbing 'counter-revolutionary ideas from close family association.' Such tendencies will be

punished severely, Peiping said . . . The renewal of the campaign to turn children against their parents was regarded here as an indication of new concern in Peiping over the state of security . . .”

6. Quoted in Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 211.
7. Quoted in Charles S. Braden, *War, Communism and World Religions* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 70, 71.
8. Taoism and Buddhism had semi-official status.
9. Wing-tsit Chan, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 217 ff.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 240.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
16. Recantation and editorial comment quoted in R. L. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 and 368.
17. Wing-tsit Chan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
18. This statement and much of the biographical material which follows is based upon the Analects.
19. Cf. Ana. XII, xi; *Great Learning*, X, xxii, xxiii.
20. *Chung Yung*, I, i.
21. *Book of Mencius*, 3:1.
22. Ana. VII, i, ii.
23. Ana. XI, i.
24. Ana. IX, iv.
25. Ana. XIX, xxiii, 3, 4.
26. Ana. XIX, xxv, 3.
27. Mencius, bk. II, 5.
28. Ana. XV, xxxiv.
29. Ana. III, iii.
30. Ana. XV, xvii.
31. Ana. XVIII, vii.
32. Ana. I, xvi; cf. IV, xiv.
33. Ana. II, xvii.
34. Ana. VI, xx.
35. Ana. XVII, viii.
36. Ana. VIII, xiii, 1.
37. Ana. XX, 18.
38. *Ibid.*, XXII.
39. Ana. II, v.
40. Ana. XIV, xxxvi.
41. *Chung Yung* XVI, 1-5.
42. Li Chi, bk. VII, sec. iii.
43. This ideograph is not the same *li* with which we are already familiar and which means rites, ceremony, propriety, worship, etc.

CHAPTER 5

1. *Shu Ching*, V, vi, 9.
2. *Tao Teh Ching*, para. 65.

3. Hu Shih insists the Mo-ti was virtually the founder of an independent school. This issue is not important for our present discussion.
4. Speech of P'eng Chen to Central People's Government Council, released September 18, 1953, by New China News Agency, quoted by Richard L. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

CHAPTER 6

1. There are those who do not find the "key" to Japanese life in a mystical nationalism. Professor T. Scott Miyakawa of Boston University finds the key in the esthetic approach to life: "The esthetic quality of their culture complicates any exposition of their life. Rather than by logical propositions, even ideas are apt to be stated esthetically—by a painting, a play, a dance, a corner of the garden, or the very way food or tea is served. Where Cotton Mather might have given a four-hour sermon to explain a theological problem, a Japanese Buddhist temple may present a play or exhibit some selected paintings. Again, if an American should ask his teacher the basic principles of a particular flower arrangement, he may not get a systematic account. For the teacher, the arrangement is an esthetic expression, like a painting, known only by intuition. This is not strange. Even in the West, a great artist may know intuitively what he is representing on canvas or with stone, but may be unable to express this insight logically in a scientific journal. . . . Those of us more accustomed to considering social events in terms of statistics, objective data, and (we hope) logic, may find our most relevant material eluding us—like the morning mist which significantly is a popular theme of many of their great ink paintings" (quoted from an unpublished manuscript).
2. Nyozezan Hasegawa, "Japan's 'Cultural Democracy,'" in *Perspective of Japan*, supplement to *The Atlantic* (January, 1955), p. 171. Quoted by permission of Intercultural Publications, Inc.
3. Charles W. Iglehart, "Current Religious Trends in Japan," in *Journal of Bible and Religion*, XV, No. 2 (April, 1947).
4. D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan*, p. 49.
5. Ichi Oguchi, "The Religions of Japan," in *Perspective of Japan*, supplement to *The Atlantic* (January, 1955), p. 123. Quoted by permission of Intercultural Publications, Inc.
6. For details, see D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Nationalism*, p. 43 ff.
7. Oguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

CHAPTER 7

1. Whence "torii."
2. See *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XLI, Pt. IV, pp. 495–554; L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, I, pp. 171–210, 244–275.
3. For interesting details about the new religions of Japan, see Charles S. Braden, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.
4. For a full description of the origin and meaning of these relics and for an account of their use as royal symbols, see D. C. Holtom, *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies*.
5. See L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, I, 182–91, 198, 208–10, and *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XLI, Pt. IV, for the

- Kidzuki celebration. For ceremonial in general, see Aston, *Shinto*, pp. 268-326. For the Purification Nakatomi ritual, see Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, pp. 44-45.
6. Cf. Hearn, *Unfamiliar Japan*, II, 396-403; *Japan*, 150 ff.; Aston, *op. cit.*, 44 ff.
 7. Ichi Oguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
 8. *Mayoi* is the Indian-Buddhist *maya*, or "illusion." Kurozumi's faith shows the effects of Buddhist influence.
 9. For these and other details, see Charles S. Braden, *War, Communism and World Religions*, chap. i, and "Religion in Post-War Japan," *Journal of Bible and Religion*, July, 1953, 147 ff.
 10. Charles S. Braden, "Religion in Post-War Japan," *Journal of Bible and Religion*, July, 1953, p. 149.
 11. See Ichi Oguchi, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
 12. Braden, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

CHAPTER 8

1. Quoted from *India*, 1955, by permission of Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
2. *India*, 1955, numbers 17 millions as belonging to "tribal" religions.
3. D. S. Sarma, in *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed. K. W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1953), p. 47.
4. "Hinduism," in *Religion in Life*, Autumn, 1956, 494 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 496.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. New York, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1942. An abridged version of this large volume has been published under the title *Ramakrishna, Prophet of New India*.
8. D. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

CHAPTER 9

1. S. Radhakrishnan, *Hindu View of Life*, p. 12.
2. *Essentials of Hinduism*, 2d ed., p. 9.
3. *Mina*, "fish"; *aksha*, "eye," in Sanskrit.
4. Cf. P. Loti, *India*, pp. 113-30.
5. The personal form.
6. Cf. *Maitri Upanishad*, 6:6-7.
7. L. D. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 9.
8. R. N. Dandekar, in *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed. K. W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1953), pp. 149-51.
9. "Calcutta" comes from "Kalighat."
10. Ramakrishna, one of whose disciples was Vivekananda, preached the higher shaktism.
11. J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 229.
12. Composed in Sanskrit by Valmiki, who claimed he "saw" (cf. *sruti*) what he rehearsed, and was commanded by Brahma to sing Rama's deeds. The popular Hindi version is by Tulsi Das.
13. From Growse's *Tulsidas Ramayana*, pp. 682-84.

14. Growse, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-46.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 707-13.
16. *Rig Veda*, bk. X, No. 129.
17. *Atharva Veda*, bk. X, No. 7.
18. Cf. Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72.
19. Shankara's Ishwara is the *vishishta-rupa*, "special form," of Brahman.
20. *Vidya*, "knowledge"; *a-vidya*, "ignorance." Cf. the Apostle's words, "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness."
21. Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, chap. viii.

CHAPTER 10

1. There are twenty-four in all.
2. There is a third sect, the Sthanakvasis, "those who worship everywhere," who have no temples, not even images for public worship, although they have their private ritual.
3. At Parasnath he wears on his head a cobra crown.
4. A memorial tomb, surmounted by an umbrella.
5. Cf. *syat*, "it may be"; *syad asti*, *syam na-asti*, "maybe it is, maybe it isn't."
6. Mahavira added this to Parshva's four.

CHAPTER 11

1. According to the 1957 *World Almanac and Book of Facts*, p. 737.
2. Statistics taken from *An Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1945.
3. The figures for Burma, Thailand, and Ceylon are based on the U.N. estimates for 1954.
4. Cf. *Om mane padme Om*, "Om, the jewel in the lotus, Om," the common formula of Buddhists.
5. Cf. J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. xvi or L. Hodous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China*, pp. 19-22 (which refers to the monastery of Kushan).
6. "Spirits of wisdom and truth," and "great spirits of truth," respectively.
7. Cf. F. L. Woodward, *Some Sayings of the Buddha*, p. 223.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.
9. Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
10. Cf. Susumu Yamaguchi in *The Path of the Buddha*, p. 62.
11. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 387.
12. Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 480.
13. Nichiren Shonin (A.D. 1222-1282).
14. See *The Lotus (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXI)*, p. 564. Various Mahayana scriptures mention "coming" Buddhas.

CHAPTER 12

1. The *sari*, of many yards of fabric three or four feet wide, made in many grades of quality, with variety in color and design, is the characteristic outer dress of Indian women.

2. Cf. J. H. Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi*, chaps. iii and iv.
3. Cf. *Yasht No. 22*, translated beautifully by J. H. Moulton in his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*.

CHAPTER 13

1. Many Jats are Hindus; some are Muslim.
2. And traders.
3. See any history of India; e.g., V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*.
4. Or possibly, the fifth Guru, Arjun, who actually laid, in 1589, the first brick of the central shrine.
5. Possibly the leper bathed, instead, in a pool not far from Amritsar, where, legend has it, lepers can be cured.
6. This is striking, in the light of Nanak's disdain of ritual.
7. Cf. M. Bloomfield, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 169: "From the time of the Upanishads on, India is axiomatically monistic or pantheistic . . . the conception of the True One that hath no second, the Brahma."
8. The third Guru, Amar Das, built a well with 84 steps to the water, each signifying 100,000 rebirths, 8,400,000 in all, through which the soul must pass, if the cycle be not broken.
9. The ground he found was untenable from the strict Muslim point of view, for the Sikhs were a "people of the Book," and as such were entitled to religious toleration.
10. *Kakka* is Panjabi for the letter "K."
11. He is called today Nanak Dev. "Deva" is "God"; although *deva* and *devi* (fem.) are often used by Hindus as merely honorific titles.

CHAPTER 14

1. Martin Buber, *I and Thou*.
2. Exod. 2:11 ff.
3. Exod. 2:13, 14.
4. Exod. 18:13 ff.
5. The difficulty roots in centuries-old synagogue usage. As early as the post-exilic period, in reading the Hebrew Bible, which was written with consonants only, it became the custom to substitute "Adonai" (Lord) for the sacred four letter name. In the course of time the original pronunciation was forgotten, although scholars now agree that it was pronounced Yahweh, or perhaps Yahu.
6. At least four early sources run through the first five or six books of the Old Testament. There are two early sources, the *J* (Judean, Hehovistic) document, usually dated in the ninth century B.C. but by some scholars today placed as early as the tenth century B.C., and the *E* (Ephraimite, Elohist) document coming from the eighth century B.C. Two other sources may also be distinguished within the Pentateuch: the *D* (Deuteronomist) which comes from the seventh century B.C. and the *P* (Priestly) document, dating from the fifth century B.C.
7. Exod. 3:13, 15.
8. Exod. 19:5-6.

9. *Exod.* 24:7-8.
10. Since this chapter is an exposition of Jewish faith, the numbering of the commandments follows the Jewish order.
11. *Antiquities* XX, v, 1.
12. *Op. cit.*, XIX, viii, 7.
13. *Dio's Roman History*, Loeb Classical Library Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 447.
14. *Amos* 9:7-8.
15. James Muilenburg, *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. I, p. 318.
16. *Amos* 5:18-20.
17. *Isa.* 6:9-10.
18. *Mic.* 3:12.
19. *Amos* 5:21-24.
20. *Isa.* 1:16, 17.
21. *Isa.* 6:1-3.
22. Muilenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
23. A. Lods, *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, p. 61.
24. C. S. Knopf, *The Old Testament Speaks*, p. 270.
25. *Ezekiel* 18:1-4.
26. By Deutero-Isaiah is meant the author of the second half of the present biblical book of Isaiah. Many scholars ascribe chapters 1-39 to Isaiah of Jerusalem, chapters 40-55 to the Second Isaiah, and chapters 56-66 to a third or Trito-Isaiah.
27. Hugo Bieber in *The Jewish People, Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 242-43.
28. Quoted in B. D. Cohon, *Judaism in Theory and Practice*, p. 38.
29. Samuel S. Cohon, "The Contemporary Mood in Reform Judaism," in *The Journal of Bible and Religion*, XVIII, No. 3 (July, 1950), pp. 158-59.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
31. David de Sola Pool in Vergilius Ferm, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 405.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 405.
33. "Reconstructionism," in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI, pp. 245 f.

CHAPTER 15

1. So Joseph L. Hromadka, "Eastern Orthodoxy," in *The Great Religions of the World*, p. 296.
2. The Book of Revelation was admitted because attributed to the aged apostle, John, who recorded herein his visions of Jesus and the future.
3. See E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*; John Bright, *The Kingdom of God*; Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 389-407; Maurice Goguel, *The Life of Jesus*, 562-69; Vincent Taylor, *The Life and Ministry of Jesus*, chaps. xiv, xv.
4. Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, Vol. I, p. 9.
5. Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People*, Second Division, Vol. II, p. 163.
6. Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 559.
7. Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 96-97.
8. Klausner, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-78.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
10. *The Synoptic Gospels*, Vol. II, pp. 520, 521.
11. Goguel, *op. cit.*, 558-59.
12. Although the Eastern church prefers the term, "trans-elementation," or "transmutation," to indicate that the substances of bread and wine are "by consecration changed into the true body and blood of Christ, risen and glorified." Cf. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 451.
13. The South Indian Christian community is mixed, including not only the descendants of the early apostolic church holding the tradition of St. Thomas; there are Nestorian "heretics" (Jacobites), and many Roman Catholics. The Thomists and Jacobites use Syriac in their ritual and deny allegiance to the Roman pontiff.
14. In 395 Theodosius of Constantinople died, the last ruler of the united empire. Thereafter, the Western and the Eastern empires were ruled separately.
15. Mani (216-276) was a Persian prophet of eclecticism and a universal faith founded upon Zoroaster, Gautama, Jesus, and himself. He based his gospel upon the Zoroastrian dualism of light and darkness, good and evil. He established two orders: (1) the "elect," who followed the strict and austere articles of faith and discipline, and (2) the "auditors," or novices. Among his injunctions were marriage, sensual indulgence, and the eating of animal food. His worship consisted mainly of prayers, chants, confessions, fasts and festivals, and almsgiving.
16. *Neo-Platonism* was founded by Plotinus (205-270), of Alexandria and Rome. It is a "Platonic" philosophy coupled with religious mysticism. Plotinus made God the Absolute without self-consciousness, but a Being absolutely good who could be directly apprehended, in spite of being above knowledge and reason. He is both the first and the final cause of the universe. There are various "emanations" of Divinity, in a sequence of Intelligence, World-Soul, individual souls, and Matter (the realm of sense which is irrational and evil). Through ascetic exercise the individual soul may recall its divine origin, may learn to cherish and revere the things of the spirit, and at last return to God.

Man's soul by nature is divine. It fell, and has been taking pleasure in its sensuous experiences. Through ecstasy a spark of recollection is rekindled in the soul. Through ecstasy, also, it gets foretastes of its primal nature and cultivates a desire to return to God. Salvation, in other words, comes by turning from matter and sense through ecstatic contemplation, and, through supersensuous channels, finding one's way back to God.

It can be readily seen, therefore, to what extent such a philosophy as this would free Augustine from the bewilderment of Manichæan dualism, especially since his Latin mind could take it literally. Neo-Platonism was, indeed, a very precise scheme of salvation. It was a mystical, idealistic monism, with a place for man's intelligence as an agent in salvation—through intelligent contemplation to self-forgetful ecstasy, and complete knowledge in union with the divine and Absolute God.

17. The "elect" must be given grace to endure, or they are ultimately lost; they are not predestined to salvation.

18. Wars of the Cross; yet some were frankly mercantile.
19. The Albigenses were Manichæan in theology, as Augustine once had been, emphasizing the dualism of light and darkness, God and Satan. They followed Mani also in forbidding marriage, private property, and meat. They rejected the *Old Testament* as the work of Satan. They would not baptize: baptism was not a purely Christian rite. They taught transmigration until the final state of bliss. They were almost exterminated by Crusaders and the Inquisition.
20. The Waldensian sect was founded in 1177 by Peter Valdo of Lyons. It was theoretically orthodox.
21. The Spanish Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd, or Averroes (1126-1198), had been very influential with his interpretation of Greek philosophy.
22. Mental reservation allows one under duress, or in emergencies, to qualify his verbal statements for the sake of some justifiable objective.
23. The German states had the right by a ruling of the Diet of Augsburg (1555) to choose for their people between Catholicism and the Lutheran Augsburg Confessions. This Roman tolerance was merely for the princes, not the people. The Peace of Augsburg, ordained while the Council of Trent was in session, could not possibly be kept.
24. The Protestant reformers were emphasizing justification by faith; faith made it possible and sure; but forgiveness was the act of God, who alone could forgive sin.
25. The method of indulgences imposed pecuniary fines instead of penances for mortal sins, especially among German Christians.
26. The Peace of Augsburg, 1555, renewed the decree of 1526.
27. Luther's record, however, was somewhat clouded by the Peasants' War. He unwittingly aroused the peasants to rebellion and urged the princes to crush them ruthlessly, "to merit heaven better by bloodshed than by prayer."
28. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 451.

CHAPTER 16

1. For a contemporary description of the rapid changes taking place in the Arab world, see William R. Polk and William O. Thweatt, "The Changing Economic Scene, Past Heritage and Future Plans," in the Supplement on The Arab World, *The Atlantic* (October, 1956), pp. 148-52.
2. Sura 11:114.
3. Sura 14:40.
4. Sura 105:5.
5. Sura 96:1-5; 74:1-7.
6. Qur'ân 48:29; 33:21.
7. There are 77,630 Arabic words in the Qur'ân.
8. Sura 5:97.
9. These five times daily are nowhere mentioned together in a single passage of the Qur'ân. They come of piecing together various references.
10. The month of Ramadan perpetuates the pagan Arab custom of a "holy truce" each year on economic and religious grounds. At times the fast

is a severe test of faith, for on a lunar calendar it falls sometimes in midsummer. See Qur'ân 2:183-85.

11. Qur'ân 3:96 f.; 2:158, 196 f.
12. The use of the term *sura* has since been restricted to chapters of the Qur'ân.
13. This has actually been done with results which may be seen in J. M. Rodwell's translation.
14. He leaves, however, the proof of the immortality of the soul to revelation.
15. Cf. Aristotle's *Reason*. He would relate through it the world of sense and the world of thought. His realism is a monism of substance, but a dualism of body and souls. Individuals are the key to universals.
16. H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism*, pp. 167-68.
17. For biographical details, see Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, introductory chapter.
18. According to E. G. Browne, quoted by Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
19. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 5th ed., p. 754.
20. Quoted in Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
21. J. Shacht, *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 406.
22. Charles Issawi, *Egypt at Mid-Century*, p. 52.
23. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Simla: The Minerva Book Shop, 1943).
24. Smith, *op. cit.*, 12.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
26. Constantine K. Zurayk, "The National and International Relations of the Arab States," in *Near Eastern Culture and Society, A Symposium of the Meeting of East and West*, p. 209.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 1

1. Is change consistent with belief? How may one distinguish between essential faith and incidental aspects?
2. Which faiths are oldest? Which are international?
3. See the list of questions incorporated in the text of Chapter 1, pages 5-6. Can some of these be discussed fruitfully at this point?
4. Which tendency is more pronounced in a religion, conservation or innovation? Is religion essentially conservative?
5. What factors enter into definitions of religion?
6. Is there an Eastern and a Western Mind? Illustrate. What conditions qualify the definition?
7. Compare the prophet and the priest.
8. What is the role of symbols in religion?
9. What should be the attitude of members of one faith toward the symbols of another faith?
10. In what different ways has the goal of religion been conceived in different religious systems?

CHAPTER 2

1. What have been some different theories of the earliest form of religion?
2. Illustrate some of the different elements of Ashanti religion found in the Apo ceremony.
3. What is *mana*?
4. What is the relationship of *mana* to the shaman? To fetishism?
5. In what way does animism represent a higher stage of religious life than that based upon the *mana*-concept?
6. To what extent does primitive man distinguish between nature-worship and ancestor-worship?
7. What is the character and function of the High God found in certain primitive societies?
8. How does religious ritual arise and what function does it serve?
9. What distinction is sometimes drawn between religion and magic?
10. What is the difference between white and black magic?
11. What intuitive convictions does primitive man share with men of all ages?

12. What two forms does ancestor-worship take? How do these differ?
13. What continuity may be seen between primitive and so-called "higher" religion?

CHAPTER 3

1. What is meant by saying that Chinese culture is "indigenous"?
2. Why speak of Chinese religion as largely a "religion of the masses"?
3. What are the two major aspects of the early religion of the Chinese?
4. What have Chinese generally thought about the moral qualities of God, Nature, and human nature?
5. Explain *Yang* and *Yin*.
6. Distinguish between the religion of the state and private religion.
7. What were some basic values in ancient Chinese morality?
8. Do ceremonial forms represent merely externalism?
9. What are the basic principles coming down from early Chinese life?
10. What are the five religions or "teachings" in China today?

CHAPTER 4

1. What appears to be the status of Confucianism under the Communist regime?
2. Down to the present day, how great has been the influence of Confucius and Confucianism upon China?
3. What have been some modern objections to Confucianism? How valid are these?
4. What accounts for the influence of the Chinese Classics upon the Chinese people over the centuries?
5. Was Confucius a success as an example of the scholar in politics?
6. With what was Confucius mainly concerned during his lifetime? Was he anything more than an ethical teacher?
7. Evaluate Confucius' estimate of his own importance. Was he too modest? What did his disciples think?
8. What is the ground of ethics in Confucius' view? How may one discriminate, in his view, between right and wrong?
9. What is involved in the teaching about *Jen*?
10. What relation, if any, is there between propriety (*li*) and filial devotion (*hsiao*)?
11. Who is the "Superior Man" in Confucian teaching?
12. What is the place of music and poetry in Confucius' view of life?
13. Did Confucius provide for change?
14. Was Confucius religious?

15. What view of human nature was developed by Confucianist scholars?
16. Compare the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Did Mencius add anything?
17. Compare Mencius with Hsün-tze. Whose theories might serve China better today?
18. Is there an essential Confucianism; i.e., are there elements of lasting value?
19. To what extent was Chu Hsi modern? To what extent Confucian?

CHAPTER 5

1. What aspect of Chinese life is represented in Taoism?
2. What is divination? What is its objective? What is its value? What abuses have resulted from its practice?
3. How may one distinguish between higher and lower Taoism?
4. What is known about Lao-tze himself?
5. What is the general character of the Tao-Teh-Ching?
6. Can Tao be described in positive terms? If so, how? What was Lao-tze's way of interpreting it?
7. What is involved in following Tao? Is Taoist ethics (*Wu-wei*, etc.) negative? Is it escapist?
8. How did Chuang-tze interpret the Tao?
9. Where does Mo-ti stand in relationship to Confucianism and Taoism?

CHAPTER 6

1. What is the unique character of Japanese life?
2. What was Shinto originally? By what means was it later reinterpreted to bolster the spirit of nationalism?
3. Of what different elements does religious life in Japan today consist?

CHAPTER 7

1. What is the origin of the name *Shinto*?
2. What is the meaning of *kami*?
3. What are the different types of Shinto?
4. How does Japanese mythology account for the Japanese islands, gods, and rulers?
5. How integral a part of Shinto is ancestor worship?
6. What is the place of Amaterasu in Shinto?
7. In what respects is sectarian Shinto more religious than Shrine Shinto?
8. What are the most interesting religious developments in post-war Japan?

CHAPTER 8

1. Illustrate the variety of India, in geography, culture, and religion.
2. What successive pressures from the West have been experienced by India in recent centuries?
3. Show the relationship of these pressures to the rise of Indian nationalism.
4. Who were the outstanding leaders in the revival and reform of Hinduism in modern times?

CHAPTER 9

1. Why may not Hinduism be easily defined? What are some essentials?
2. What is the importance and the function of the Brahman in Hindu society, as illustrated in village life?
3. Who are some of the more prominent deities worshiped in different parts of India and how are they viewed?
4. In what ways is the Golden Temple at Banaras a symbol of the Hindu faith?
5. Observe the places of worship frequented both by Shivite and Vishnuite pilgrims. Explain this inclusive rather than exclusive attitude.
6. Explain the four major divisions of the caste system and the functions of each.
7. How did the caste system originate?
8. What is the present status of caste in India?
9. What is the character of the contents of the Rig Veda?
10. Compare the religion of the Rig Veda with that described in the Atharva. Account for whatever differences occur.
11. What is the nature of the Brahmanas? Of the Upanishads?
12. What is the goal of Hinduism, as stated in the Upanishads?
13. What is the general character of the great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana? The Laws of Manu? The Puranas?
14. Which gods are grouped together in the great triad of modern Hindu theology? What functions are assigned to each? What special features of Shiva-worship and Vishnu-worship may be distinguished?
15. How may the two types of Krishna-worship be accounted for?
16. What spiritual virtues of manhood and womanhood are symbolized in Rama and Sita, respectively?
17. What different interpretations of free will exist within the circle of those who worship Rama especially?
18. What are the different ways of salvation taught by modern Hindu sects?

19. What is fundamental to salvation, according to the Samkhya philosophy?
20. What is the fundamental theory of Vedanta?
21. How do Shankara and Ramanuja differ?
22. What are some of the basic common elements of the different schools of Hindu philosophy?
23. How fair is it to charge Hinduism with having employed the mind to reduce the world to neglect?

CHAPTER 10

1. Among what classes of the Indian people does Jainism flourish?
2. What is the relation of Parshva to Mahavira and to the movement?
3. What is a *jina*? How does one achieve this state?
4. What happened to Mahavira in the sun-stricken field?
5. What is the Jainist view of the nature of man?
6. In this light, what is the goal of human life?
7. How does *ahimsa* represent a logical development of this theory?
8. How valid is the *yes-no* theory?
9. What is the logic of Jainist asceticism?
10. What differences exist between the two major sects of Jainism?

CHAPTER 11

1. In what lands, rather than in India, the land of its birth, does Buddhism now flourish?
2. How does Mahayana Buddhism differ from Hinayana? Which is closer to the Buddha's original teaching?
3. Describe some outstanding examples of Buddhist art.
4. What was the probable character of Gotama's bringing-up?
5. Why should such a man determine upon the renunciation of family life?
6. With what "ways of salvation" did Gotama experiment and with what results?
7. How did enlightenment finally come?
8. Describe the wisdom which Gotama attained.
9. Wherein is the Buddha's a middle way?
10. What is the relation of selfishness to sorrow and satisfaction?
11. What is the nature of the eightfold path? Note briefly the meaning of each step.
12. What was the connection between the Buddha and his teachings and the order named after him?
13. Does the Buddha actually deny the self?
14. What did the Buddha mean by Nirvana?

15. What happened to Indian Mahayana? Why? What happened to Hinayana?
16. Account for the success of Mahayana Buddhism in China.
17. Distinguish among the following types of Chinese Buddhism: Pure Land School, the Ch'an or Meditation School, T'ien-T'ai.
18. Discuss the origin and functions of the chief Mahayana deities.
19. How was Buddhism introduced into Japan? Contrast the history of Buddhism in China with that in Japan.
20. What varying religious needs are served by the different sects of Buddhism in Japan?

CHAPTER 12

1. Why did the ancestors of the Parsis now in India leave Persia?
2. Of what is fire to the Parsi a symbol?
3. How did the Parsi method of disposal of the bodies of the dead originate?
4. What kind of reform did Zoroaster attempt? Did he succeed?
5. Explain his view of good and evil.
6. Was Zoroaster a monist? A monotheist? Were his moral and religious teachings in harmony with the idea of one supreme God?
7. Of what does salvation consist in the Parsi view?

CHAPTER 13

1. From what stock do the Sikhs come?
2. Distinguish the political and religious elements involved in the origin of the Sikh movement.
3. How did the movement become predominantly nationalistic?
4. Is the Sikh religion monotheistic?
5. What constitutes authority? Has the seat of authority changed?
6. Are the scriptures "inspired"?
7. What relation has the faith borne to caste?
8. Compare Nanak and Gobind Singh.
9. What Indian characteristics are involved in Sikhism? How has Hinduism affected it?
10. What moral and religious values have Sikhs most emphasized?

CHAPTER 14

1. What is the special character of Judaism as a religion?
2. What is the relative importance of creed and ritual in Jewish religious life?
3. Compare the synagogue and the temple, historically and ritually.
4. What tragic aspects of life and history are portrayed in Jewish ceremonial?

5. In what sense is Moses, rather than Abraham, the founder of Hebrew faith?
6. Illustrate the manner in which ethics and religion are inextricably interwoven in the Mosaic period of Hebrew religious life.
7. What is the deeper meaning of the covenant relationship as portrayed in the Bible?
8. What has given the Jews a sense of solidarity even during their dispersion?
9. Illustrate the various meanings of the term "Law" in Jewish religious thought.
10. Describe the differences between the early and the later prophets.
11. What was the basis of the prophets' pessimism regarding the national destiny?
12. How did the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel help the Jewish community to survive the fall of the national state?
13. What is the relation of the Talmud to the earlier, canonical writings?
14. What contributions have been made to the Jewish concept of God by successive thinkers in various periods of history?
15. In what sense is modern political Zionism an outgrowth of the earlier Messianic hope of the Jews?
16. How did Reform Judaism arise?
17. What are some differences between the various groups in American Jewish religious life: Reform, Conservatism, and Orthodoxy?

CHAPTER 15

1. Into what three main divisions does Christianity fall and what are the basic differences which divide them?
2. How did Christianity begin; e.g., did Jesus found a church?
3. What have been four basic theories with regard to the nature and function of the church?
4. What is a sacrament? How many of them are observed by Christians?
5. What writings were regarded as having the authority of "Scripture" in the time of Jesus?
6. How many and what main groups of New Testament writings came to have canonical authority also?
7. Discuss the origin and development of ritual prayer in the Christian church.
8. In what sense does Christianity depend heavily upon its founder for its special character and its influence?
9. What was the purpose of John's baptism?
10. What was the subject of Jesus' preaching?
11. What was the purpose of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem which led to his death?

12. Discuss the elements of newness in Jesus' teaching about the kingdom of God.
13. What is meant by saying that in his teachings Jesus combined an optimism about God with a pessimism about man?
14. Compare Paul, Peter, and John with special reference to the development of ideas and practices.
15. What was the major issue among early Christians? How had Paul and John solved the problem of the person of Jesus?
16. What early heresies appeared in the history of the early church and how were these answered in the creeds?
17. Explain basic differences between the Eastern and Western churches.
18. What were Augustine's views of the Church, original sin, and the freedom of the human will?
19. What needs were met by the rise of monasticism?
20. Who were some of the leading figures in the medieval struggle between church and state?
21. What was the special purpose and character of the Dominican and Franciscan orders?
22. How did Aquinas deal with the problem of faith and reason?
23. How did the Council of Trent clarify Catholic thought?
24. What political and moral issues came to a crisis in the Protestant reformation? Was Luther a reformer or a revolutionist?
25. What are the major differences between Catholics and Protestants?
26. How did Protestantism become established in England? Through what persons and by what acts?
27. Compare Anglicans and American Episcopalians.
28. How do Presbyterians and Baptists differ in polity and in doctrine?
29. What peculiar views of human nature and salvation did John Wesley hold? What is Methodism?
30. What is Christianity?

CHAPTER 16

1. Within what belt of lands are the bulk of Muslims concentrated today?
2. What makes a mosque?
3. In what aspects of life does Islamic democracy appear most plainly?
4. In what ways did Muhammad's marriage to Khadijah advance his career as a prophet?
5. What is meant by speaking of Muhammad as a "pattern"?
6. In what ways does Muhammad's "flight" to Medina represent a turning point, politically and religiously?

7. What changes in the Arabian order did Muhammad accomplish?
8. What are the "pillars" of Islam?
9. What is Muslim theory concerning the Qur'ân?
10. Describe the Muslim idea of Allah.
11. How has the Qur'ân been supplemented in Muslim history?
12. Explain the character and causes of various interpretations of canon law.
13. What views of the caliphate have been influential?
14. Compare religion and politics among the Shiahs and the Sunnis.
15. How were Greek and Semitic elements reconciled in Islam?
16. What had Ghazali and Ashari in common? How did they differ? Is mysticism compatible with Islam?
17. What were ibn-Rushd's heresies?
18. Are there principles of change and progress in Islam?
19. What is meant by speaking of the Wahhabi movement as a reform "from within"? What was the Wahhabi goal? Its results?
20. Contrast al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh with regard to their aims and methods of reform.
21. What has been the general character of reform movements within Indian (and Pakistani) Islam as contrasted with Arabian reform movements?
22. Describe the basic factors giving rise to Arab nationalism.

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